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ABSTRACT

The following articles on bilingualism and bilingual education are included: "The Lessons from Two Decades of Bilingual Theory and Practice of Bilingual Education" (Inclan); "Social and Psychological Aspects of Language Use by Bilingual Children" (Walcer and Rodriguez-Brown); "Psychological Aspects of Bilingualism and Biculturalism in Mexican American Children" (Lindenfeld and Carrasco-Schoch); "Ability and Performance Measures of Anglo and Mexican-American Students at a Southwestern University" (Brooks and Calkins); "A Hierarchical Approach to Measures of Language Proficiency" (Young); "The Acquisition of English by French-Canadian Students in Welland, Ontario" (Mougeon and others); "Semantic Compounding in the Speech of Mexican-American Bilinguals: A Re-examination of the Compound-Coordinate Distinction" (Jacobson); "Attitudes Toward Spanish: A Field Study" (Hannum); "Attitudes Toward Bilingual Education: Ethnicity vs. Class" (Hoffer); "Political Dynamics of Bilingualism and Biculturalism: Lessons from the Royal Commission Reports" (McRae); "Three Case Studies in Italian American Ethnicity and Language Use" (DiPietro); "Personal Reflections of Growing Up Bilingual" (Haugen); "New Research Goals: Needs in Paralanguage and Kinesics" (von Raffler-Engel); "Hold That Tiger! Urgent Needs in Bilingual Education" (Macaulay); "Interdisciplinary Linguistics and Bilingualism" (St. Clair); and "Correlating Socio-educational and Linguistic Variables among Chicano College Bilinguals" (Ornstein-Galicia and Goodman). (JB)

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BILINGUALISM
AND
BILINGUAL EDUCATION

New Readings and Insights

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INTRODUCTION

Three years ago, the editors agreed that it was high time for some new writings and insights to appear in the area of bilingualism and bilingual education. The "classical" essays on the subject had become pretty well known to virtually everyone in the field, meanwhile the Lau v. Nichols Supreme Court decision (mandating bilingual education wherever concentrations of minority youngsters spoke some mother tongue other than English) and related developments have brought the subject of this collection to the forefront of national attention. At the same time, while millions are being spent in federal and state-supported bilingual education programs, there are still serious gaps in our knowledge of the complexities of bilingualism, the nature of the multilingual individual, and how the educational process can best be carried in more than one language.

Accordingly, raison d'etre of this book of readings is to make new data and insights available to teachers, administrators, scholars, social workers and all those who deal with multilinguals, be it in the classroom or within the framework of such "intervention programs" as Project Bravo or Head Start. One leading feature, and in our view, strength, of these essays dealing with a rather broad spectrum of topics, is that they are based either on extensive experience or on empirical research. Very few have appeared in hardcover books or wide-circulation periodicals, while most of them have been "gathered" at professional conferences, from "working paper" collections, or solicited by the editors. Contributors range from internationally-known figures, through scholars at mid-career, to young and promising younger scholars.

Bilingualism does not lend itself to arrangement into neat little compartments, and anyone who attempts this travels at his own risk. In this case, we decided to follow a four-way division, in which the pragmatic and the theoretical would be represented.

It seemed to us that the book would be most usable and meaningful if the prospective reader would be guided through its contents--much as a chairperson introduces a speaker. Accordingly, in the first section "Bilingual Education: Practice and Theory" we begin with an essay by Rosa G. Inclan, Consultant for Bilingual Education in Miami, who shares with us "Lessons from Two Decades of Bilingual Theory and Practice of Bilingual Education." Carol Walcer and Flora V. Rodriguez-Brown deal with "Social and Psychological Aspects of Language Use by Bilingual Children." They observe children in the classroom as they learn and use the two language systems. Jacqueline Lindenfeld, an anthropologist, and Lucila Carrasco-Schoch write on "Mexican-American Children's Perceptions of Bilingualism and Biculturalism," finding in their modest sample that "balanced bilinguals" are more anglo-oriented, while "asymmetrical bilinguals" (Spanish dominant) experience more conflict in bilingual programs, fearing that English study will deprive them of their home language and culture. They plead for more frequent inclusion of a "psychological component" in programs which would create a more favorable atmosphere to the study of both languages.

Finally, Bonnie S. Brooks and Dick Calkins, in "Mexican-American Students in a Southwest University: How Do They Fare Academically?", analyze the results of a sociolinguistic survey of Chicano vs. Anglo undergraduates at the University of Texas, El Paso (with the highest bilingual enrollment of any senior university in the fifty states). Contrary to common notions, Chicano students performed about equally well in most areas, and even surpassed their Anglo peers in certain sectors.

The second section, dealing with "Investigative Aspects of Bilingualism," addresses itself to topics of interest to both students and teachers. In "A Hierarchical Approach to Measures of Language Proficiency," Rodney Young explores this thorny problem with a university professor and a high school teacher, while presenting his own "hierarchical" model in some detail. This is followed by two articles on language acquisition, an area receiving increasing attention. In "Acquisition of English by

French-Canadian Students in Welland, Ontario," Raymond Mougeon and associates at the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, provide an in-depth investigation of learning errors. They conclude that there are two types: one resulting from interference from the French mother tongue, the other "developmental", and mostly self-correcting, as they are in the case of monolingual ontogeny.

In the two following essays, somewhat elusive semantic problems are probed. Rodolfo Jacobson, in "Semantic Compounding in the Speech of Mexican-Americans: A Re-examination of the Compound-Coordinate Distinction" discusses the results of an experiment to determine whether such bilinguals indeed possess two "systems" of meanings for the same "referent" (object or idea referred to). His evidence points rather to a fusion of the English and Spanish systems.

Next, we encounter Thomasina Hannum's "Attitudes toward Varieties of Spanish: A Field Report," investigating the attitudes of New Mexico students toward other varieties of Spanish than their own, both regional and national. Perhaps reflecting the impact of civil and ethnic rights movements, the researcher found that those speaking Southwest regional dialects registered as much pride in them as did Spanish-speakers from other countries, although the latter tended to evaluate the regional forms lower.

In the concluding article Bates Hoffer looks at "Attitudes toward Bilingual Education: Ethnicity vs. Class" and concludes that the motivation for bilingual education is often at odds with the values of the parents, even when the latter supports bilingualism. The conflict involves the deepest of value systems and cannot be resolved in any easy way or short time.

The third part moves away from the "micro-contexts" of the nation-state, and society as a whole. Kenneth McRae, a Canadian political scientist and former director of research for the Royal Commission, writes on "Political Dynamics of Bilingualism/Biculturalism: Lessons from the Royal Commission Reports." Speaking from a country threatened by possible secession of Quebec on linguistic-cultural grounds, his words are especially cogent, as he takes pains to drive home the fact that multilingualism and multiculturalism are potentially both divisive and unifying.

Robert Di Pietro, in "Three Case Studies in Italian-American Ethnicity and Language Use" portrays the dilemma of the immigrant child vis-a-vis his ancestral heritage and the new culture. Three different solutions are shown: rejection of the old heritage, a middle and ambivalent course, and a harmonious balance between the two.

Finally, Einar Haugen, an international leader both in linguistics and bilingual studies, offers some "Personal Reflections on Growing Up Bilingual." A Norwegian-English bilingual himself, he makes out a convincing case for regarding bilingualism, not as an affliction but as an ecologial problem. With the help of bilingual/bicultural education, it can become the means, he affirms, of helping us preserve the beauty and values of a pluralistic society where rich yet harmonious differences exist, and make for a world that is more open, freer of prejudices.

At last, in the fourth section, we dare to consider some of "Challenging Tasks for the Present and Future." First of all, Walburga von Raffler-Engel, a pioneer in the field, speaks of "Research Needs in Bilingual Paralanguage and Kinesics," an area much too neglected by technical linguists yet seized upon by popularizers like Julius Fast in his Body Language. It turns out that body movements and vocal modulations and even "silences" follow different patterns in each language and culture. Ronald K. S. Macaulay distils for us the most cogent conclusions of an international study of bilingual research taking his team to Mexico, Canada and the U. S. in an essay titled "Hold That Tiger! Urgent Needs in Bilingual Education." Robert St. Clair, in his "Interdiscplinary Linguistics and Bilingualism" attempts to show the futility of examining bilingualism from the vantage point of a single discipline--be it the most sophisticated model of linguistics. He invites language specialists and social scientists to join hands in attacking the inextricably interrelated problems of this phenomenon.

In conclusion, Jacob Ornstein (or, legally speaking, Ornstein-Galicia) and Paul Goodman give some of their results from "Correlating Socio-educational and Linguistic Variables among Chicano College Bilinguals." From a large data base, they show correlations between language and attitude, school and attitude, slang and language prestige, and so on. The Cross-Cultural Southwest Ethnic Study Center is the location for the most comprehensive sociolinguistic research in the Southwest.

Finally, this collection will have served its purpose if the data and insights herein have helped in putting together some significant parts of the mosaic represented by bilingualism, and its analogue biculturalism.

Jacob Ornstein-Galicia

Robert St. Clair

PART ONE:

BILINGUAL EDUCATION-PRACTICE AND THEORY

LESSONS FROM TWO DECADES OF
BILINGUAL THEORY AND PRACTICE
OF BILINGUAL EDUCATION

Rosa G. Inclan

LESSONS FROM TWO DECADES OF BILINGUAL THEORY AND PRACTICE OF BILINGUAL EDUCATION

Rosa G. Inclán

Introduction

Lessons from Two Decades of Bilingual Theory and Practice of Bilingual Education can be challenging, varied and of a multiplicity of effects for teachers as well as learners. For at least one teacher learner, "the lessons" had an effect of somewhat of a shock mingled with amusement, especially when the full realization "hit" that the two decades could just as well have been three, or even four.

"The lessons" really began back in 1938 while attempting to help young (and old) men and women in their teens (and their twenty's) learn to communicate in English as their second language. And they learned. They felt that they were learning. They saw how they were learning as they "did" one unit after another in the laboratory and passed each unit test and later on each "grade" test in each level of the twelve that comprised Mathiot's *New Method English*. All of them had to struggle repeatedly through the oral English class hour, reinforce it with reading, writing and programmed, individualized laboratory sessions - three hours in all, five days a week. The younger high school graduates could, after several months of this intensive training, substitute Business Training, or Office Practice; Psychology, Translation, or any of a variety of electives that could eventually lead to an *Associate* degree, for the lab period. They also had to take at least one period of *Spanish* daily.

The products? Bilingual and *quasi* bicultural youngsters once they had learned, and vicariously lived, the "American way" through American textbooks and through readings meant for American young men and women like themselves, through American movies that they went to see at the neighborhood theater at least once a week, and through the American music that they chose to turn on in their radios. Bilingual bicultural youngsters who were eagerly sought out by American as well as Cuban companies for immediate, promising employment.

The attending conditions, variables, dimensions? Students with high motivation, self determination and freedom of choice; teachers with native proficiency (not "near native") in the English language, and dedication; instruments for diagnosis and evaluation, for leveling and placement; and overall, partial immersion.

This, we might call lesson one, in a non-native environment, that is, where the target language being learned is not the language of the country in which it is being learned; such as the case of Cuban youngsters learning English in Cuba.

Lesson two involves a younger target population, both elementary and high school age, in the same non-English-speaking environment, with American textbooks and readings, movies, music; with the same type of proficient and dedicated teachers, but with total immersion for five hours daily, of which only one (or one and a half hour if secondary) was devoted to Spanish. All subject areas were, in other words, taught in English. The products? Again, bilingual bicultural youngsters. Some of these, if taught to read in English with a basal reader before or at the same time as in Spanish, experienced some symptoms of nervous anxiety, such as slight stuttering, nail biting; frequently, even eye-squinting or eyebrow twitching, during their early schooling. The great majority, however, "survived" the treatment without evident undesirable effects, for in most of these situations, that is, where Cuban children attended "American schools, the best of both educational systems was integrated into a highly desirable set of procedures and processes that could elicit nothing short of the highest high-quality products. Thus, the acquisition of the basic skills of reading, writing and arithmetic remained the much shorter Cuban process. And, while there were some schools where children divided "a la cubana" in the morning and then were confused into exchanging dividends and divisors "a la americana" in the afternoon in what to their Cuban parents seemed sheer nonsense, these were, fortunately, few and far between. So were those schools in which cursive handwriting - normally introduced in Cuban schools during the first grade - was postponed, to give way to the more painstaking process of manuscript writing in "true American" fashion.

Lesson three involves an inversion of factors: children learned all subject matter in their native language, with English being taught for two periods every day. Formal reading instruction in English, using basal readers produced in the U.S. for native English speakers, was provided after a firm grasp on the Spanish system of sound-symbol correspondence had been acquired. This usually happened during the latter part of the first grade, since Cuban children underwent two pre-school levels - kindergarten and pre-primary - before entering first grade. For some, depending on age level, I.Q., maturation and socialization, this internalization of the decoding system would require two school terms. For others, kindergarten and pre-primary would take only two "semesters" or one school term. American readers of one level below their Spanish grade level were therefore used sequentially throughout the elementary grades. By the end of the sixth grade, however, when these students had passed their national secondary school entrance examination, (1) which required at least 70% in each of thirteen subjects, including English One, they were able to score well within the median and mean scores in the Tressler Reading tests for seventh grade and in the Public School Achievement Test language batteries for American children. Those wishing to pursue a bilingual education would then take their first year of bachillerato in all areas in Spanish, and eighth grade English language arts and literature in accordance with American standards. At the end of five years of secondary education they were both bachillerato and high school graduates, eligible to enter either an American college or a Cuban university, if they had taken and passed the American tests sent from and scored by affiliated institutions in the U.S. Some of these schools, like Ruston Academy, had very high percentages of acceptance of their candidates. Many of the earlier "magna/summa cum laude" college graduate Cuban refugees in the U.S. were the products of this type of educational system.

Lesson four in bilingualism biculturalism takes us into an English-speaking environment, Miami, in the early sixties; in 1961, to be exact. Twenty-three years had elapsed since initial involvement in the issue, either as direct participant in a learning, or a teaching, or a consultant capacity, or as an interested observer in a teacher training capacity both at a Cuban and at an American university in Cuba.

It was in 1961 that the Cuban influx into the Miami schools began its amazing increase.(2) It reached unpredicted climaxes of almost 10,000 children per year toward the end of the decade. The large concentrations of non-English or limited-English- proficiency children in a few schools of Miami's central southwest area - later to be known as the sagüecera or Little Havana - rendered "sink or swim" and "total immersion" methods both impracticable and impractical. On the one hand, the sociopsychological characteristics of mostly parentless children, uprooted from sheltered, warm homes and loving environments to be hurled into an unfamiliar, "cold", foreign land where they were expected to pitch for themselves on an independent level, at total odds with their "overprotected" upbringing. On the other, their "temporary" condition, in which there existed two equally "short-lived" alternatives: either returning home in a few months, as soon as Fidel was overthrown, or establishing a new home temporarily in the United States with their "soon-to-be-reunited" families... The fact that for many of these children and young adolescents neither total nor even partial "reunion" of their family ever really materialized or that when it did, the generation and cross-culturation gap had made all of them, painfully, strangers among themselves was at the time irrelevant... Lesson four had to be developed through procedures sui generis designed to cope with an equally unique situation. Neither the Puerto Rican nor the Southwestern United States situation was validly generalizable in relation to the Cubans in Miami. Too many variables - motives, socio-economic status, upbringing, value system, expectations, attitudes, educational background - were much too different to make generalization possible, even in the hypothetical (and in many opinions, questionable) case of the existence of successful educational programs for children of limited English-speaking ability. (3)

Provision was, therefore, made for daily "orientation" classes of three hours' duration in English as a second language. These included both language practice with an aural-oral approach reinforced by reading and writing practice and curriculum content within limited structures and vocabulary. They were followed by regular classes in math, physical education, art and music, so that the Cuban children would not be segregated from their American peers for any longer than three class periods, or four, if Spanish for Spanish for Speakers (Spanish-S) was also provided. In this latter case, however, instruction was limited to thirty minutes, so that in effect, children with limited English proficiency ability were grouped for instruction for three and a half hours as a maximum. Difficulties in scheduling as well as in communication were bridged by the Cuban aides who usually worked in teams of two with one American teacher. Each team would serve two classrooms, taking turns in supervising follow-up and reading activities. The characteristic dimension of lesson four could be summed up in the term flexibility. Flexibility characterized these organizational patterns, and flexibility characterized scheduling, placement and promotion, including the actual instruments used, which were of "domestic" manufacture. As soon as the students were ready for it, they were reassigned to regular classes in subject matter areas, together with American students. They still reported to special English as a second language classes, however, for as long as they needed to - perhaps two or three years. If completely nonindependent at the onset, they would report for ESL instruction during two class periods every day. In some cases ESL classes took the place of the regular language arts period for the intermediate level Cuban students; in others, ESL classes were provided in addition to the regular reading period or to the "language arts/reading bloc."

The products of this fourth lesson could be described as bilingual and bicultural. They moved easily from the home culture to that of the school, where they found in the Cuban bilingual aide an excellent drawbridge that made their entry into the "mainstream," or enculturation, smooth. Instead of hitting the students over the head with "English and only English is to be spoken here," the administration advocated a policy of respect for the student's home language and culture, with strong recommendations as early as 1961 for its inclusion in the student's schedule of studies. The policy was quite defensible also on the grounds of the reinforcement of skills (formerly referred to as "transference") theory. Even the most recalcitrant, "English-only" oriented school principals and teachers could see that their own task could become considerably easier if approached through a familiar or "known" medium of instruction. It wasn't too difficult for them (if they took the time to hear and to think, that is) to understand that comprehension skills in reading, for instance, could be acquired considerably faster if the Cuban aide was allowed to work on them during the reading lessons in the Spanish class. Much unnecessary frustration was thus avoided for both the American reading teacher and the Cuban reading pupil if the bilingual aide dealt with establishing relationships of cause and effect, for example, in reading Spanish stories before the American teacher attempted it during the "reading circle".

Yearly evaluations carried out by the Department of Program Evaluation, Dade County Public Schools, continue to confirm the reinforcement of skills theory. A 1974 report (4) indicates that those high school ESL students who had received instruction in Spanish-S simultaneously scored significantly higher in the Stanford Achievement Tests of Reading Comprehension (Paragraph Meaning) and Vocabulary than those who had not selected the Spanish-S program among their elective subjects.

As the decade of the sixties wore on, the Cuban students, whose ranks were being increased by other Spanish language origin students from various parts of the Americas and the Caribbean, were also scattered more widely throughout the other five administrative school areas that comprised the Dade County School System then. In schools where there were not enough students of limited English proficiency at any one level to warrant their being grouped in one class, various modalities of "immersion", "osmosis" or "sink or swin" procedures became common practice. Lesson five, therefore, taught us that these scattered students quite often turned out to be bilingual, monocultural speakers of excellent English who were functional illiterates in their language of origin and neither knew nor concerned themselves with their original culture. A follow-up study of these individuals might prove very interesting. Will they, like Child's (1943) group of second generation Italians in New England eventually reject all original cultural and linguistic ties, becoming as "American" as possible? Or will they in later life revert to a reidentification with their culture of origin and insist on undertaking the study of their original language? In a community as strongly influenced by its Latin culture asMiami, this could very well be the case. Lambert, Giles and Picard (1973) found a developmental trend toward respect for the original culture and language among the French-Americans in Maine. Whereas at ten a "typical French-American youngster from Maine's Valley region who follows a conventional all-English curriculum in public school rejects his French ethnicity and orients himself to the English-speaking American as a model, college students in the valley region appear to have equally sympathetic attitudes toward European and local forms of French as towards English. That is, English no longer has a pre-eminent position in the hierarchy." (Lambert, 1974)

A recent local study carried out by Human Communications of Miami (1975) appears to point toward a rejection of the English language, and American culture, as a matter of fact, on the part of older Latin residents, "as if the acceptance of them would mean becoming 'less Cuban'. Among the younger generation, apparently, there is a greater ability to adapt themselves to the American culture, and they do not perceive this assimilation as a loss of personality. These youngsters tend to be bilingual and adopt those American customs which do not conflict with their Latin self image." (Human Communications, 1975)

Lesson six, however, tends to be a remedial one, a reaction to the resulting products of lesson five. In 1971, the Superintendent of Schools issued five directives on bilingual education (Dade County Public Schools, 1971). The second one of these instructed all schools having students of Spanish language origin to offer these students the opportunity to study Spanish language arts and culture in a program designed for Spanish speakers. Thus, it turned out that alert parents of even the sparsely populated schools could, and often did, request Spanish instruction for these "scattered" youngsters who appeared not to need the ESL program. Once again the pendulum swung towards bilingualism, giving rise to findings such as those reported by Human Communications, to the effect that "the youngsters of the Latin community are in fact bilingual. 74% of these express themselves in Spanish as well as in English." 40% used both languages with equal frequency and only 20% used more English. The remaining 40% used Spanish as their basic language. Of those below 25 years of age, 19% used English more frequently while only 11% did so if older. Only 27% did their math calculations in English, while 42% of this new Latin generation preferred to do so in Spanish; 31% made mental calculations in either language. Of the entire group, 373 sons/daughters of the sample population, 304, or 82%, were originally from Cuba and 6% were born in the United States.

Yet, even though these six lessons contributed to produce varying degrees of bilingualism and biculturalism within a given target population, the Spanish language origin, it was not really until we participated in lesson seven, with its inclusion of the two interacting target populations, that bilingual bicultural education became the integral process that all education is truly meant to be. For, if bilingual bicultural education is to be valued per se and not as a transitional or compensatory program designed to facilitate a minority group's integration or assimilation into the mainstream in the best of melting pot traditions, then why should it be reserved only for the minorities? Does it make sense to create an entire generation of educationally deprived youngsters who are both culturally and linguistically handicapped in their own country? The case for the North American English language origin children's learning to communicate in a second language, and to interact comfortably in a second culture while in their own country is rather obvious. Yet it was not really until the idea "took" in the Coral Way Elementary School in Miami that American public school children really began to be involved in bilingual bicultural education on a large scale. This involvement was realized through bilingual schooling, i.e., through a bilingual school organization, a delivery system in which the two culturally and linguistically different groups of students learn in both of their "home" languages while they interact with relative ease within both systems of culture values. The rewarding effects of such a program are only limited by the insecurity expressed by North American parents. Unfortunately, this situation seems prevalent in most U.S. communities. Yearly evaluations throughout the country as well as outside are consistent in showing, minimally, that there is no significant difference in performance which is considered indicative of the acquisition of basic skills in English as measured by standardized tests applied equally to children in bilingual school organizations and in traditionally monolingual schools. (Richardson, 1967, 1968) Yet, the experimental or bilingual group gain the ability to communicate and interact in a culture and language other than their own, with the concommitant enrichment and broadening of experiences that indubitably enhance an individual's potential to achieve socially, psychologically and economically.

In looking over these seven lessons learned throughout four decades of bilingual bicultural education, we can, in summary, restate several assertions. Some of these are now supported by studies; others need to be:

1. There are multiple ways to arrive at bilingual-culturalism. The question is to determine which is the most rewarding, the most viable for a particular community, and the most economical in terms of time, energy and individual as well as community benefits to be gained.

2. Certain variables appear to be common to successful programs, regardless of procedures:

    a. favorable attitude toward the target language and culture (Lambert, 1974)

    b. feeling of security or self satisfaction on the part of the second language learner, which results from self identification as a member of a language/culture group that is valued for and within itself (Long and Padilla, 1970)

    c. second language periods of sufficient duration to warrant being called intensive; minimally, two hours for beginners.

3. Language skills are mutually reinforcing between languages (Dade County Public Schools, Evaluation of Bilingual Programs, 1975)

4. The essence of language as communication must be kept uppermost in the minds of all involved in the planning and implementation of bilingual bicultural programs. Hence, language activities, whether in first or in second language, must serve the needs of the learner to use language for communication, whether in relation to the affective domain (home and family needs) to the cognitive domain (school and other intellectual needs) or the motor domain (interaction and transportation needs)

5. Much of the research frequently cited as supportive of negative effects of bilingualism is not related to bilingualism as such, but in reality to second language performance or to attitudes and reactions of pseudo bilingual subjects in a second language/culture situation. In this respect, Hall's conclusion (1952) "that the degradation of one's mother tongue (and culture) as inferior in social and educational situations can be traumatic in extreme," is of the utmost importance. It is hence necessary to be very discriminating between the kind of bilingualism/biculturalism which is the product of bilingual/bicultural education and that which results from an individual is having learned to communicate in a second language/culture at the expense of or with total disregard for his language and culture of origin.

There is urgent need for well controlled, experimental studies involving subjects of the former type, for these are truly the ones in which the real effects of bilingual/bicultural education can be ascertained.

Footnotes

(1) In Cuba, and in many other Hispanic American countries, all students are required to take an entrance examination administered by department education officials before they can be admitted to secondary school programs.

(2) Dade County Public Schools, Office of Administrative Research, Miami: 1974-75.

(3) Thomas P. Carter's *The Mexican American in School: A History of Educational Neglect*, College Entrance Examination Board, New York: 1970, provides supportive evidence to the case in point.

(4) Dade County Public Schools, Planning and Evaluation Department, *Evaluation of Dade County Public Schools Bilingual Programs*, 1973-74, Miami.

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SOCIAL AND PSYCHOLOGICAL ASPECTS OF LANGUAGE USE BY BILINGUAL CHILDREN

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SOCIAL AND PSYCHOLOGICAL ASPECTS OF LANGUAGE USE BY BILINGUAL CHILDREN: AN ECOLOGICAL ANALYSIS [1]

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Introduction

Since 1968, with the passage of the Bilingual Education (Title VII), two things have become increasingly evident to educators across the country: 1. that Bilingual Education offers some hope to the estimated five million non-English children in our country, whose educational needs are not being fully met by traditional schooling, and 2. that research and evaluation of existing programs and methods is necessary so that future efforts can be improved and expanded.

There are a fair number of evaluations of bilingual programs documenting the effect of Bilingual Education on the academic, linguistic, cognitive and social development of students, typically using "product" measures such as achievement tests or measures of self concept. In comparison, there has been relatively little study to date of the social interactive processes within bilingual classrooms. Though increasing numbers of such studies are being reported, their focus has been upon the linguistic and cognitive aspects of social interaction--we still know very little about what a bilingual environment contributes to the child's socio-emotional growth and development.

The literature abounds with descriptions of the non-English speaking child in an English speaking environment, and the possible deleterious psychological effects. Jersild (1968) writes:

> "A child from a foreign language background is likely, in some situations, to be teased and cut off from the group. Even when he is not singled out by his peers,

> the child himself may be self conscious about his background and language, and may be timid (or sometimes overassertive) when called upon to express himself, especially if he is in the process of transition from one tongue to another, or still uses accents and speech forms from the foreign language..."
> (Child Psychology, p. 115)

In classic studies, Anastasi and Cordova (1968) found that Puerto Rican children who had suddenly been required to cope with an all English school situation "insulated" themselves by becoming rather passive and apathetic in their attitudes. Lambert (1967), in a study of Bilingual French-Canadians found a "general inferiority reaction" beginning at age 10 and growing developmentally to a point where, in the late teen years, French Canadians displayed a marked preference for English-Canadian traits.

More recent studies of the self concept of bilingual students within the US tend to support these findings. Gillman (1969) compared the self concepts of 428 fourth and sixth grade Mexican-American, Negro and White students from comparable "disadvantaged" backgrounds. Using the Self Concept Ideal Self Description Scale and the Child's Manifest Anxiety Scale, Gillman found the Mexican-American subjects to score lower than the white sample, but higher than the Negro sample.

Zirkel (1971) used the Coopersmith Self Esteem Inventory on fifth and sixth grade Puerto Rican, Black and White students controlled for sex, SES and IQ. The findings indicated that the Puerto Rican students tended to have significantly lower self concepts than the Blacks and Whites studied. Zirkel emphasized the role which a majority or minority position in the school played upon the results; Puerto Ricans tended to have lower self concepts when they were in the minority at the school, and especially when whites were in the majority.

These studies and others like them have been used to support the existence of a relationship between bilingualism and self image. However, it is difficult to separate the effects of dual language usage (bilingualism) from that of minority group membership and socio-economic class in these studies because of the definitions of bilingualism operationalized and the psychometric measures used. In addition, it should be noted that there is contradictory evidence; several sources have found no significant differences between the self concepts of bilingual or disadvantaged minority children and others (i.e. DeBlassie and Healy, 1970), while Soares (1969) presented evidence which suggested that "culturally disadvantaged" children had higher self concepts than Anglos tested.

Notwithstanding these somewhat contradictory findings, one of the often cited goals of Bilingual Education in this country is to counteract the purported trend towards negative self image in bilingual students--to provide a school situation which will foster positive feelings about the child's language and culture, and thereby his "self", by allowing the child to study and learn in his native tongue. Such a feeling of self worth is believed to contribute to a child's capacity for learning and future academic achievement. While this is the goal, however, we have no documented descriptions of how a bilingual classroom or program engenders this kind of atmosphere (if it does). We know very little about the dynamics of bilingual instruction and social interaction within the classroom; we know even less about how this effects a child's image of himself in the educational setting.

The Present Study

This observational case study is an attempt to obtain descriptive data of this kind. It is an attempt to begin to understand the bilingual classroom as a unique interactive setting having an impact upon social process and upon a child's developing concept of self. In conceptualizing the bilingual classroom in this fashion, we are borrowing from the tradition of Roger Barker (1968) and other ecological psychologists. We are interested in whether there is something about the bilingual classroom as an interactive environment or "behavior setting" which exerts different behavioral forces upon inhabitants of that setting. What does the setting "bilingual classroom" mean subjectively to a child interacting with other members of that setting, compared with an all English setting?

Our analysis will compare the language behavior of one target child as she moves from a bilingual to an all English classroom in the same school district during her school day. This design is similar to the "trailing" technique employed by Barker and Wright (1951) in their early observational study entitled One Boy's Day. In this study the authors described the behaviors of a child they had followed for an entire day, making inferences from their record about the apparent meaning that the child attached to his behavior and to the persons, things and events that he encountered throughout the day. In this pilot study, however, specific language behaviors will be examined as indicators of how the participants view themselves in their environment. In focusing upon language interaction only, we hope to examine behaviors which are more specific and relevant to the context of bilingual instruction and interaction, as well as to the dynamics of "self" expression within that context.

Specifically, we are interested in the following behavioral components of language interaction:

1. Is our subject more verbal in the bilingual classroom or the English classroom?

2. Are there more peer interactions in one or other settings? Does the target child seek out other Spanish dominant children in the English classroom?

3. Does she participate more often in teacher directed activities in one setting or the other?

In addition, we are concerned here with an analysis of the motivational, personal and social aspects of speech functioning within the classroom--the communicative intent of language use.

We are interested in exploring the nature of the child's interactions from one setting to the next; is she more social, more cooperative, more involved in studies, etc, in the bilingual or all English class?

As we explore these questions about how the child behaves in the two settings we hope to narrow the focus of our analysis to the child herself. Ultimately, we would like to speculate about what these data tell us regarding the child's view of herself as she functions in these two settings. From this we can then conjecture about the possible relationship between educational behavior setting (i.e. bilingual class vs. regular class) and the dynamics of personality development and growth--is it true that bilingual education is conducive to such growth for the bilingual/bicultural child?

Method

SUBJECTS--The subject for this case study was a six year old girl Puerto Recan extraction named Priscilla. She is now enrolled in grade 4. At the time of the study she was attending a half day Bilingual program, in Illinois, where she attended an English classroom in her neighborhood school in the morning and a bilingual class in the afternoon. (She was bused from one school to the other.)

The children who participate in the bilingual program were selected by their "home" school because their knowledge of English is insufficient to cope with the demands of the English classroom. Thus the program may be designated as a "transitional type"--that is it is expected that once the children's English language proficiency is adequate to meet these demands, they are switched out of the bilingual class. While in the bilingual program, they are classified as Spanish dominant.

Over the course of the study Priscilla had two different teachers for the bilingual class. The teacher for the first two observations was a native Anglo who had a "good" command of Spanish. She was assisted by a student teacher of Mexican background. The teacher reported that her instructional program was highly structured and remained fairly constant from day to day. Subjects covered during the two hour period were Spanish reading readiness, arithmetic, ESL and Spanish culture or health.

In April, just prior to the third observation, the teacher left for an extended sick leave and was replaced by a native Spanish speaker (South America) whose English was "good": She followed an instructional schedule similar to that of the first teacher. (By this time the student teacher had also left).

Priscilla's English teacher reported that her classroom activities were also fairly structured. Language Arts and reading groups were the primary subjects taught in the morning. English was used exclusively for instruction, although she reported that she had some familiarity with Spanish words and phrases. In addition, she reported acceptance of mixed language use among the Spanish speaking children in the classroom.

Priscilla was videotaped at three points during the school year (November, March, and May). Each taping included a full school day (½ day English, ½ day Bilingual).

In each taping session the target child wore a wireless microphone. Two video cameras were used--a stationary and a portable camera. The stationary camera and microphone were focused on the classroom as a whole, attempting to capture the mood and activity of the whole class and making sure to point out the target child's role vis a vis the whole. The portable camera focused directly on the target child and her immediate social surroundings. This camera also recorded the target child's conversation through the wireless microphone. Audio and video data were supplemented by field notes of the classroom activity, taken by the stationary camera operator.

Cameras, equipment and observational personnel were introduced to the classes involved prior to actual taping. All the children were given an opportunity to play with the cameras and see themselves on T.V. They were told that "we want to see what children their age do in school".

After the first taping session the teachers were interviewed to obtain information concerning the teacher's background, her attitude towards bilingual education and her description of language use patterns in the classroom.

Procedure

All of Priscilla's utterances were transcribed from the video tape and coded descriptively according to the following categories:

I. Brief description of the lesson context.

II. Predominant language of utterance
(Utterance is defined as one turn to talk)

III. (P) Participation--indicates if utterance is a spontaneous verbal response to a teacher directed activity

(R) Response to a direct question
(Uncoded)

IV. Description of listener:
(*as verified by the classroom teacher)

*(EP) English dominant peer
*(SP) Spanish dominant peer
(ET) English teacher
(BT) Bilingual teacher (Student teacher was coded at BT
(SS) Self
(GP) Group of peers (Spanish or English)

V. Code switching behavior

(T) Transitional code switch--language changes from one interaction to the next one (interaction defined as one or more turn taking sequences with others).

(WI) Within interaction--language has been switched within the interaction--one turn to next

(WU) Within utterance--lexical switch within utterance or statement

Following the descriptive coding and transcription, Priscilla's utterances were coded again from the video tapes for content and communicative intent, using a modified version of the abbreviated FIS-P instrument (Functions of Interpersonal Spontaneous Preschool Speech) developed by Schacter, et.al.(1974). The present version of the coding scheme summarized below in Table I is more general than the original version except in the "Learning Implementing" category, which was expanded to contain a more precise breakdown into sub-scores specifying the object of inquiry. Every utterance was coded for communicative intent except those which were (1) a response to a direct question (2) a part of a participation sequence or (3) incomprehensible. Description coding and content coding were done by the same coder.

TABLE I
Modified FIS-P

Personal

1. Expressive statement: function is surely to express emotion (i.e.: "Ow"; "Yum, yum"; "I hate this").
2. Desire implementing: function is to implement a personal desire for an object, for help, for permission, for general reassurance or attraction (i.e.: "Can I have some?"; "Stop it"; "I'll slug you").
3. Possession implementing: function is to implement possession rights involving objects, territory, turns or roles (fantasy or real) (i.e.: "This is my crayon"; "It's mine"; "I had it first")
4. Ego Enhancing: function is to enhance S's ego, with context and tone showing evident pride.

a. Asserts pride (i.e.: "I know the alphabet in Spanish and English"; "I'm seven")

b. Assumes teacher role (i.e.: "I'll show you how to do it"; "No- that way, this way")

c. Denigrates others (i.e.: "That's stupid"; "You're cheating")

d. Teases or tests limits. Playfully attacks peers, or the explicit or implicit rules of authority or reality (i.e.: tells joke; "Want to be cool?"; "Go in the sky and eat the ice").

Social

1. Self referring--including: function is to join S to others by self referring the other's statements, activities or characteristics.

    a. "Me too"--drawing some parallel for self (i.e.: "Mine is on top"; "She has socks like me"; "I like spinach too")

    b. "Me better"--competitively stating (i.e.: "My picture is nicer than yours")!

2. Joining: function is to join others to S with S actively initiating the union (i.e.: calling name, "Let's play here")

3. Collaborative: function is to initiate or maintain a role-differentiated social interaction, with two or more S's participating in a project, discussion or game

4. Collaborative discourse--including: all statements except those covered by the other collaborative subcategories (i.e.: "Put an n here and an o here. Now we're finished").

Cognitive

1. Learning implementing: function is purely to implement learning about the world, or how to proceed in a task. May be new knowledge or restatement of old

knowledge.

  a. Objective (i.e.: "What's this say?"; "W" (names letter)).
  b. Social (i.e.: "What are you doing?"; "When is Mack's birthday?").
  c. Functional (i.e.: "Do we color this?").

2. Reporting: function is to share an observation, thought or experience with others.
  a. Self (i.e.: "I have the book here").
  b. Social (i.e.: "Omar don't got no crayons").
  c. Things (i.e.: "The crayon fell on the floor").

Results

A quantitative analysis of the language behavior compiled reveals that Priscilla speaks more often in the regular classroom than in the bilingual classroom.

TABLE II

	Regular Class			Bilingual Class		
Date	Total Utterances	English	Spanish	Total Utterances	English	Spanish
11/25	236.0	192.5*	38.5*	116.0	70.5*	45.5*
3/3	364.0	144.0	209.0	97.0	60.0	34.0
5/18	152.0	124.5*	24.5*	87.0	70.0	17.0
TOTALS	752.0	461.0	272.0	300.0	200.5	96.5

*.5 indicates utterance was equally divided between English and Spanish.

Table II also reveals that English is the predominant language of discourse in both settings. These figures, however, are partially confounded by the type of classroom routine engaged in on the days of our observation. In the English class a great deal of time was allotted to independent seat work activities which afforded much opportunity for verbal interaction. This interaction was further supported by the teacher's implicit acceptance of conversation; as indicated by the placement of seats in small groups and her tolerance of talking during class time. The bilingual classroom, on the other hand, was more highly structured around teacher directed activities. More time was spent in whole class lessons and small group, teacher directed exercises. In addition, seating arangements were more traditional and isolated, with an explicit expectation of quiet in the classroom.

This difference in classroom routine is also reflected in the number of peer interactions versus teacher interactions recorded in the two classrooms.

TABLE III
Interactions: Listener Participants*

	Regular Class					Bilingual Class		
Date	English Teacher	English Peer	Spanish Peer	Self	Bilingual Teacher	English Peer	Spanish Peer	Self
11/25	23	145	41	24	52	0	49	6
3/3	54	37	216	50	43	0	35	19
5/18	18	80	30	17	17	0	62	5
TOTAL	95	262	287	91	112	0	146	30

* discrepancy between totals of Table II & III due to instances where it was not possible to determine the exact participant in interaction.

Table III indicates that there were slightly more teacher interactions in the bilingual class than in the regular class. This is particularly true of the first bilingual teacher (11/25 and 3/3). The large number of teacher interactions in the regular class on 3/3 reflects a group writing spelling lesson in addition to the regular group and independent activity routine.

Table III also indicates that there is a general tendency for Priscilla to interact more with her peers in the regular classroom than the bilingual classroom. Within the regular classroom, a good number of her interactions are with English speaking peers. The larger total number of interactions with Spanish speaking peers can be seen to be an artifact of particularly long sequences with one Spanish speaking peer (Omar) on the second day of observation. The teacher of the regular classroom had seated Omar next to Priscilla purposely to encourage a helping relationship between them--Omar knew almost no English and required a great deal of assistance in completing class assignments.

To summarize these results we can say: (1) Priscilla speaks more often in the English class than the bilingual class (2) she has more peer interactions in the English class (3) a good number of these peer interactions are with English speaking peers (4) she speaks more English than Spanish in the regular as well as the bilingual class (5) she engages in slightly more teacher interactions in the bilingual class, and examination of these interactions reveals that these are predominantly in English.

Several additional descriptive findings may also be mentioned. Our tabulation of participatory utterances, illustrated in Table IV below indicates that Priscilla's spontaneous participation in teacher directed activities is about equal in both settings (though slightly higher in the bilingual classroom).

(Refer to Table IV on following page.)

TABLE IV
Spontaneous Participation in Teacher Directed Activities

Date	Regular	Bilingual
11/25	10	11
3/3	16	18
5/18	2	2
TOTALS	28	31

Again, this data must be weighted by the fact that in the bilingual class there were more opportunities for participation, because there were more teacher directed activities.

Code switching behaviors also differed across the two sittings. Table V (below) illustrates that there were more transitional type code switches in the English class than the bilingual class. These most often represented instances where Priscilla alternated speaking to English peers in English and Spanish peers in Spanish. In addition, there were more within utterance code switches in the regular class setting. These most often reflected insertion of one word English lexical items (i.e. color words, or "fire drill" other than phrases or partial statements).

(Refer to Table V on following page.)

Let us move now to the analysis of what the data reveal about Priscilla's reasons for speaking, or the personal motivational aspects of her speech interactions. Table VI summarizes the results of the content analysis of Priscilla's speech across settings.

TABLE V
Code Switches

Date	Regular Class Transitional	Within Interaction	Within Utterance	Bilingual Class Transitional	Within Interaction	Within Utterance
11/25	24	3	1	16	14	6
3/3	64	4	15	16	1	6
5/18	23	2	5	19	0	0
TOTALS	111	9	21	51	15	12

Several things emerge from these data. Looking first at the personal category, we can see that in the regular classroom Priscilla (1) communicates more emotion through expressive statements; (2) is more expressive of her own desires and more assertive with other people; i.e. she tells Omar, who has been teasing her "No me moleste" (Don't bother me!); (3) seems more concerned about her possession rights--there are numerous episodes involving crayons and the issue of copying.

Most interestingly, however, she evidences many more instances of "ego-enhancing" speech in the regular classroom. This is particularly the case with the two males with whom she has the majority of her interactions--David and Omar. With these two boys Priscilla engages in a "friendly" competition and makes frequent comments reflecting personal pride; these children

TABLE VI

Summary of results of content analysis of Priscilla's speech across settings

PERSONAL							SOCIAL							COGNITIVE					
Expressive Statement	Desire Implementing	Possession Implementing	Ego Enhancing				Expressive Statement		Desire Implementing	Possession Implementing				Expressive Statement			Desire Implementing		
			Asserts Pride	Assumes Teacher role	Denigrates Others	Teases or Tests Limits	Asserts Pride	Assumes Teacher role		Asserts Pride	Assumes Teacher role	Denigrates Others	Teases or Tests Limits	Asserts Pride	Assumes Teacher role	Demograted Others	Asserts Pride	Assumes Teacher role	Denigrates Others
16	30	19	52	55	28	20	13	10	34	29	1	0	6	70	40	16	61	64	21
5	15	3	25	13	4	1	5	0	36	20	1	0	1	21	5	9	36	12	7

are also the recipients of most of Priscilla's denigrating and teasing remarks.

The following is an excerpt of an interaction with David in English (11/25).

"What are you doing, copy cat?"
"Who?"
"No."
"I done two papers. I done that one and that one.".

Priscilla often engages in teacher-role playing in the regular classroom, but these utterances are directed almost exclusively to particular Spanish speaking peers who require a lot of help with their academic work. In fact, the English teacher purposely fosters this type of "helping" relationship. She utilizes Priscilla by placing her in seats close to those who need the most help. This was related personally by the teacher.

It is interesting to note, in contrast, that in the bilingual classroom there are much fewer personal utterances but particularly fewer denigrating and teasing remarks. Most of the ego enhancing statements are statements of pride directed to the teacher, rather than to peers.

In the social category we again find a general tendency for more socially competitive statements occurring in the regular class ("me too" and "me better"). Joining and collaborative statements are approximately equal in both settings, though slightly more collaboration occurs in the regular classroom.

Lastly, in the cognitive category we find that (1) Priscilla asks more objective questions in her regular class, and (2) she asks many more questions about others. In addition she makes more reportive statements about herself and others in her social environment in the regular class. In line with the findings of the two previous categories, Priscilla appears to use this information in a competitive way, i.e. "I'm reading this. Where are you at?"

Discussion

From these data we can speculate about what the English classroom represents subjectively to Priscilla. It appears to be a context where she shows her peers and teacher that she is "on top" of the situation, and can come out ahead in any competition (academic or social). It is a place where she is more involved with her peers, both English and Spanish, and has a particular "helping" role to play vis a vis her more Spanish dominant peers.

These findings may be contrasted with Priscilla's interactions in the bilingual class. The bilingual class is a place where she is interacting among equals (in terms of language) and there appears to be less competition. Priscilla's peer interactions in the bilingual class are predominantly joining and collaborative. There are few denigrating or teasing comments to other peers. Her interactions with the teacher are more personal, reflecting pride and self reference. She seems to seek out attention from the teacher. She, in fact, has a greater number of teacher interactions in the bilingual class.

From the point of view of Priscilla's self image, we can again only speculate about how she feels about herself in these differing climates. It is possible that Priscilla truly enjoys the competition afforded her in the regular classroom and that her self-esteem thrives in this environment. From teacher reports, this would appear to be the case; Priscilla is an excellent and conscienscious student and has many friends in her class according to the English teacher.

On the other hand, it is possible to argue that this competitive behavior is merely a defense on Priscilla's part. She may feel insecure in the English environment and feel that she must continuously prove herself to be equal to the task. She appears to be much quieter, less aggressive in the bilingual class; it is possible that this is a more comfortable, more relaxed environment. It is interesting to note that Priscilla's only negative self report to a teacher occurred in the bilingual classroom ("I can't do that"). Perhaps the bilingual class offers her a place where she can lower her defenses and admit some of her weaknesses.

It is unfortunate that this exploratory data can not provide absolute answers to these speculations. They do, however, offer tantalizing insights into the process and provide fertile ground for further probes and questions.

Conclusions

It is important to re-emphasize the exploratory nature of this study. The findings are not intended to be generalized beyond this particular case; a much more stringent experimental design would be necessary before such generalizations could be attempted. Moreover, our interpretations concerning Priscilla's behavior are only speculative. While we believe the evidence demonstrates that the "behavior setting" does differentially influence Priscilla's behavior, it can also be argued that our results are a function of dynamics other than language of interaction which we did not control for, i.e. the different personalities of individuals or teachers in each room. The reader should consider such alternative explanations in evaluating these results.

At the very least, we hope this study has demonstrated the richness of information available from observational study of classrooms and the importance of the classroom interactive environment in assessing school effects. A single self concept score for Priscilla might be misleading or misrepresentative of her behaviors in either setting. Observational data provide the complimentary information needed to clarify and best interpret results obtained.

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PSYCHOLOGICAL ASPECTS OF BILINGUALISM AND BICULTURALISM IN MEXICAN AMERICAN CHILDREN

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PSYCHOLOGICAL ASPECTS OF BILINGUALISM AND BICULTURALISM IN MEXICAN AMERICAN CHILDREN

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Our focus of attention in this paper[1] is the need for a psychological component in every bilingual education program in American schools. Such a program should aim not only at bilingual competence and knowledge of two cultures, but also at producing harmonious human beings who can truly feel at ease in both languages and cultures. Too often a serious conflict arises in a child's mind as to which of the two languages or cultures is more valid and should therefore be considered as the major model, the other one being then automatically given secondary and/or inferior status. Too often in so-called bilingual education programs non-Anglo children are insidiously made to think that their native language and culture may be fine for the home environment, but not for the outside world in which they are to achieve success. The direct consequence of such a frame of mind is that these children will soon partially or entirely lose their native languages and cultural ways, or at least not be comfortable with them out of the home environment, and become acculturated so fast that they will lose their sense of personal identity. Another possible consequence is that non-Anglo children will stubbornly refuse to learn the new language and culture for fear of having to give up their ethnic background. Only a child with a very strong and positive self-image will be able to achieve what should be the goal of every bilingual-bicultural education program: learning English and the ways of Anglo society while retaining one's native language and ethnic identity. We strongly believe that such a goal cannot be attained unless teachers are more attuned to the particular needs and desires of children who experience conflict in their exposure to two different languages and cultures.

In this paper we will first briefly review some of the literature on existing bilingual education programs in order to show that they all seem to lack the psychological dimension we deem necessary. We will then describe a pilot survey we conducted as a prelude to a large scale study of the relationship between psychological well-being and learning progress in young children who are exposed to two languages and cultures.

Many of the existing bilingual education programs in the United States, whether intentionally or not, are likely to produce asymmetrical bilinguals rather than balanced bilinguals, that is individuals who are not equally competent and comfortable in both languages. There seems to be no reason why children could not be trained to use either language in any situation. At this point it is good to remind ourselves that "for millions of people throughout the world bilingualism is not a problem at all. In many countries it is a matter of course that one speaks and even writes in more than one language. The problem arises only when a population through emigration or conquest becomes a part of a community where another language is spoken and this language is imposed on them through the school system or other authorities." (Anderson and Boyer 1970: pp. 8-9). Let us take California as an example. While many efforts are made to spread the use of Spanish, particularly through the educational system and government agencies, there is no concurrent attempt to equalize the social status of Spanish and English. The notion of biculturalism which is as important as that of bilingualism since it can contribute to create much more harmony in a community, is hardly ever present in school programs. As stated by Anderson and Boyer, who are critical of these lacks, "It is not enough for educators to understand the principles on which a solid bilingual program must be built, they must also create understanding throughout the community concerning the important connection between one's mother tongue, one's self-image and one's heritage (both individual and group-cultural). One can hardly despise or deprecate any people's language without deprecating the people themselves." (ibid. : p. 48). We therefore need to "maintain and strengthen the sense of identity of children entering the school from non-English speaking homes" (ibid. : p. 49). In order to achieve such a goal, a bilingual education program must "enable all children to gain a sympathetic understanding of their own history and culture and of the history and culture of the other ethnic group", as well as "give all children the opportunity to become fully articulate and literate and broadly educated in two languages and two cultures." (ibid. : p. 69).

Let us briefly review other studies in which the authors show an awareness of the conflict which may arise in Mexican American children when first exposed to the English language and Anglo ways. In Manuel (1965) we find a whole chapter on Personality and Social Adjustment in which the author discusses the conflicting interests commonly found in Spanish speaking children of the Southwest. Unfortunately he only briefly discusses the training of teachers in his next chapter and fails to mention the need for a psychological component in bilingual education programs.

In an article by Kjolseth we find a very high degree of awareness of what is missing in most bilingual education programs: specific methods designed to promote the democratic co-existence of Anglos and other ethnic groups. Kjolseth shows that most bilingual education programs are of the assimilation type: "In direct contradiction to the usual program's statement of goals, the structure of "typical" programs can be expected to foster not the maintenance but rather the accelerated demise of the ethnic mother tongue." (Kjolseth 1973: p. 16). According to the results of his survey, eighty per cent of all bilingual education programs fall into this category. By contrast the pluralistic model "encourages a democratic and more transparent forum for the resolution of conflicts and differing interests within and between the ethnic and non-ethnic communities." (ibid.: p. 10). Practically speaking "language skills and cultural perspectives are added without progressively destroying the child's home language and cultures; furthermore these developments take place in both groups." (ibid.: p. 11). Kjolseth unfortunately has little to say about the kind of teachers needed for such programs and the special training they should receive. He refers to the teachers as "effective bilingual and bicultural role models for their students" (ibid.: p. 8). However he does not discuss the ways in which they can learn to foster the same kind of attitude in their students. We personally do not believe that example is sufficient. Every bilingual education teacher should be trained to become actively aware of the (conscious or unconscious) conflictual state in which children are likely to find themselves when first exposed to a language and culture different from their own.

Another article (Light 1972) contains a remark on "the shocking lack of understanding of cultural and linguistic differences which is responsible for the failure of many programs to achieve their intended effect" (p. 9). The author considers that teachers are inadequately prepared for their very special task of serving the needs of students with different cultural and linguistic backgrounds. He recommends that teacher training institutions and in-service programs provide courses in linguistics, cultural anthropology and methods of second language and second dialect teaching. But given the lack of details in his article, it is impossible to say how much of a psychological component Light would want to see included in such programs and what form it would take. While he stresses the importance of attitudes in teachers, he does not go as far as advocating special psychological training for them so that they can help children enrolled in bilingual programs deal with their inner conflicts.

We can conclude that bilingual education programs are lacking in specific psychological elements both at the theoretical and practical levels. This state of affairs is all the more surprising since a few experts in the field have been dealing with some psychological aspects of bilingualism for several years. Two such researchers are Lambert and Gardner whose studies clearly show that motivation and attitudes are very important dimensions in the learning of a second language and the acculturation process. In one of their studies we find the following statement: "Thus there are various forms the language process could take, at least theoretically and if socio-psychological factors can have such varied and dramatic impact on the more serious, advanced student of languages, one wonders whether the debutant might not be similarly affected, because his attitudes, his views of foreign people and cultures, and his orientation toward the learning process might well determine or limit his progress in developing second language competence." (Gardner and Lambert 1972: p. 2).

Our examination of bilingualism and biculturalism in Mexican American children is based on such lines of thinking. We wish to demonstrate through correlational analyses that there is a definite relationship between the children's perceptions of themselves as members of a pluralistic society on the one hand and their competence as bilingual individuals on the other. If such a relationship can be firmly established, we will need to revise existing bilingual education programs so that they take into account the psychological dimensions of bilingualism and biculturalism both at the teacher training level and the classroom level.

As a first step in our study, we developed methods for testing the validity of our ideas on a very limited number of subjects. We will now describe this pilot study, focusing on instruments and procedures rather than results given the small size of the sample. The reason why we do not wish to delay reporting our findings despite their preliminary character is that we want to stress the urgency of including psychological elements in every bilingual education program. It is our hope that the investigation we have begun can lead to similar investigations in other geographical areas, leading to a rethinking of bilingual education programs along the lines we are suggesting.

The specific hypothesis we tested in our pilot study is as follows: an inverse relationship obtains between a child's learning progress in a bilingual education program and the degree of conflict he or she is experiencing when exposed to a new language and culture. In other words, the more conflicted the child, the less progress he or she will make in becoming a true bilingual with equal competence in both languages. We examined this assumed relationship in eight Mexican American second graders enrolled in a bilingual education program. Individual interviews were conducted at their school, which is located in a Southern California bordertown and has about eighty per cent Mexican enrollment. The interview consisted of a linguistic test designed to measure bilingual competence and a questionnaire we devised to elicit the children's attitudes about the two languages and cultures considered.

Our linguistic instrument is a modified version of the Bilingual Syntax Measure devised by Burt and Dulay. The test consists in asking a child to answer four or five questions about each of seven pictures shown in turn. The pictures represent simple everyday life situations. The uniform set of questions ranges from very easy ("What are these?" as interviewer is pointing at birds in a picture) to very difficult for a 7-year old ("What would have happened to his shoes if he hadn't taken them off?" as interviewer points at a man), thus producing a spread in the children's linguistic scores. Every child is administered the test in both Spanish and English (in our study we systematically reversed the order of languages for every second subject in order to avoid any possible bias) and his recorded answers are analyzed in terms of grammatical correctness. The scoring is based on answers to eighteen questions in each language; each correct response is given one point.

After establishing the children's scores for all eighteen questions in English and Spanish, we compared their performances in the two languages in purely numerical terms, thus departing from Burt and Dulay's Bilingual Syntax Measure which classifies the children into levels of competence. The numerical method produced a clustering of our subjects into three categories:

- subjects A, B, C and D have either no difference at all or a difference of 1 point between their Spanish and English scores; we will call them balanced bilinguals and refer to them as Group I;
- subjects E, F and G have a difference of 4 or 5 points between their Spanish and English scores; we will call them asymmetrical bilinguals and refer to them as Group II;
- subject H has a difference of 9 points between her Spanish and English scores. She could obviously be classified in Group II as an asymmetrical bilingual. However the difference is so much higher in her case that she is best considered as a separate category which we will label highly asymmetrical bilingual. In our future large scale study we plan to examine such cases very carefully as they may give us some precious insights into the causes of individual failure in bilingual education programs.

The data on the children's perceptions of themselves in a multicultural society were obtained through a 21-item questionnaire which was administered either in Spanish or in English[2] depending on the subject's preference (we had four cases of each in our sample of eight). In our analysis we are using the answers to only 13 of the questions which turned out to be more significant than the remaining 7. Responses to these questions can be grouped into four indices:

- Language use in home and neighborhood. It is based on answers to four questions concerning the language spoken with parents and siblings, as well as neighborhood friends.
- Identification with English speaking Americans versus Spanish speaking Mexicans. It is based on answers to four questions as follows: Which do you like better (sounds nicer), Spanish or English? What kind of child would you like to be, Mexican, Chicano or American? Do you play with American children? Would you like to live like a Mexican or an American?
- Perception of value of English and Spanish. It is based on answers to the following questions: What do you think is better, Spanish or English? Which language is better to know, Spanish or English? Do you think it is good to know both languages?
- Perception of American attitudes towards Mexicans. It is based on answers to the following questions: Do you think that American children like Mexican children? Do you think that grownups like American children better than Mexican children?

Our preliminary results can be summarized in terms of a 3-value system for each index. In the first three indices these values can be labeled Anglo orientation, Mixed orientation and Mexican orientation. Anglo orientation is represented by the following types of answers in each of these indices respectively: Language use = English; Self-identification = orientation towards English speaking

Americans rather than Spanish speaking Mexicans; Perceived value of each language = subject's view of English as better or more useful than Spanish. Obviously the opposite answers would represent a Mexican orientation, while answers such as saying that both languages are useful would represent a Mixed orientation.

Given the very limited size of our sample we only give a summary picture of our findings. Let it be noted immediately however that they tend to support our hypothesis of an inverse relationship between bilingual competence and degree of conflict experienced by the child. Leaving aside subject H (highly asymmetrical bilingual) for the time being, we find clear differences between our Group I and Group II subjects: on all three counts (Language use, Self-identification, Perceived value of each language) the balanced bilinguals show a higher Anglo orientation than the asymmetrical bilinguals.

Taking now the fourth socio-psychological variable into account, namely the child's perception of American attitudes towards Mexicans, we find similar differences between our two groups. Twice as many of the responses by asymmetrical bilinguals, as compared with the balanced bilinguals, indicate a perception of Anglos as having negative attitudes towards Mexicans. The co-existence of such a perception of Anglo views and a preponderantly Mexican orientation in our Group II subjects can be considered as indicative of a conflictual situation. There is therefore, as stated in our hypothesis, a relationship between such a psychological state and bilingual competence: a child who is in conflict is not likely to learn the new language and/or to maintain the home language as well as a non-conflicted child. We can conclude that, on the basis of our admittedly limited study, the achievement of bilingual competence is indeed linked to the child's self-image and perception of himself or herself as a member of the surrounding pluralistic society.

How are we to interpret these preliminary findings, which we expect to repeat themselves in a larger sample of subjects, in terms of long range planning of bilingual-bicultural education programs? Let us for a moment speculate about our two groups of children, the balanced bilinguals and the asymmetrical bilinguals. At this stage the subjects in Group I seem to experience no conflict in terms of their social orientation: they appear to have already chosen the Anglo way and do not seemingly have a strong desire to cling to their ethnic background. While these children still know Spanish very well at the present time, we might want to predict that in a few years from now they will have assimilated to such an extent that they may have partially or totally lost their knowledge of the Spanish language and their cultural heritage, which could later on in life lead to very serious conflict. Teachers with sound psychological training could make such children face this potential future conflict at a time when it is easiest for them to develop their knowledge of both languages and understanding of both cultures. As for the subjects in Group II, they could easily be helped in their efforts to become bilingual and bicultural by a teacher with the necessary psychological training who could lead them to realize that learning the English language and Anglo ways does not have to imply loss of the Spanish language and Mexican cultural heritage.

At this point we wish to turn to an article by Ramirez which seems extremely relevant to the issue considered here. One of his statements is as follows: "Should research results show that to maintain identification with the ethnic group is detrimental to the child's educational achievement and his psychological adjustment, the emergent philosophy of cultural democracy will be called into question. Conversely, if identification with the ethnic group is found to be a necessary ingredient of academic success and a positive self-image, then the policy of cultural relevancy must come to dominate efforts in developing experimental educational and mental health programs for Chicanos." (Ramirez III 1971: p. 400). In his conclusion he states that "Almost every review of the literature ends in a call for additional research and this one is no exception. There is a great need for extensive studies of how milieu and socio-economic class interact with acculturation to affect personality and education." (ibid.: p. 406). Finally he concludes that "There is, therefore, a critical need for more enlightened research relevant to acculturation of Chicanos. There is an even greater need to insure that the results of this research will be incorporated into education and community mental health programs. This is especially important since many of these programs are continuing to follow the old and inappropriate model of assimilation into the mainstream American middle-class. There is, thus, a very crucial issue at stake here--the outcome of the struggle for cultural democracy in American mental health and education." (ibid. : p. 407).

In our future work we plan to work along the lines suggested by Ramirez, conducting longitudinal studies of Mexican American children enrolled in various bilingual-bicultural education programs. We also plan to rethink the whole issue of bilingualism and biculturalism very carefully, insisting as we have done in this paper on the extreme importance of teachers' attitudes and psychological knowhow in such programs. It may very well be that all the careful thinking which goes into curriculum planning is simply a waste of time and effort if no attention is paid to the psychological dimensions of bilingualism and biculturalism. We might even go further and want to re-evaluate the framework in which to examine bilingual-bicultural education programs. It is becoming very clear to us that such research cannot be conducted from a purely sociolinguistic or educational viewpoint. Rather we need to pay attention to many of the political and economic aspects of life for bilingual-bicultural individuals in the United States, as well as the impact of bilingual-bicultural education on the total life pattern of those who have been exposed to it.

NOTES

[1] A preliminary version of this paper was presented by both authors in a symposium on bilingualism organized by the Council on Anthropology and Education at the 1975 meetings of the American Anthropological Association in San Francisco. A revised version was presented by the first author in a session on Mexican Americans she contributed to organize at the 1977 Sociolinguistics Roundtable of the Research Committee on Sociolinguistics in Perpignan, France. The final version owes much to comments and criticisms made at both meetings. We are also very grateful to Carlos Garcia and John M. Long for their help at various stages of this work.

[2] Code switching was facilitated by the fact that the second author of this paper, who conducted all the interviews, is a natural English-Spanish switcher herself.

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ABILITY AND PERFORMANCE MEASURES OF ANGLO AND MEXICAN-AMERICAN STUDENTS AT A SOUTHWESTERN UNIVERSITY

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ABILITY AND PERFORMANCE MEASURES OF ANGLO AND MEXICAN-AMERICAN STUDENTS AT A SOUTHWESTERN UNIVERSITY*

Bonnie S. Brooks and Dick S. Calkins

Minority group participation in higher education has been a subject of increased interest during the past decade. The Mexican-American ethnic group, the second largest minority population in the U.S., is of particular interest to southwestern universities, inasmuch as the Mexican-American population is concentrated in the five states of Arizona, Colorado, California, New Mexico and Texas. Educationally, this group is over-represented at the minimum end of the scale and under-represented at the maximum end. According to a recent Census Bureau report (1972) only 48% of adults aged 25-29 years of Spanish origin had completed high school compared to 58% of the Blacks, and 80% of the Whites. A Ford Foundation report, presented in the American Personnel and Guidance Association publication Guidepost (1975) indicates that for every 100 Mexican-American students who enter elementary school, only 22.5 enrool in university level work and 5.4 earn the baccaleaureate degree, compared with 49.3 Whites who go to college and 23.8 who complete the degree. A College Entrance Examination Board study reported in the Chronicle of Higher Education (1975) that only one in four Mexican-Americans who enter college graduate, compared to one in two Anglos. It is generally agreed that, with the exception of American Indians, no other minority is less represented in American higher education than the Spanish-speaking members of our society (Arce, 1976; Leman, 1974; Carter, 1970).

Explanations have been given for the high Mexican-American dropout rate. These have included academic and financial problems (Vela, 1977; Hernandez, 1971), parental attitudes and child-rearing practices (Reilley & Knight, 1970; Heller, 1966), cultural differences of the Mexican-American personality (Holtzman, 1975), and differing perceptions of the the university environment (Garza & Widlack, 1976; Garza & Nelson, 1973; Murray & Pettibone, 1972). Studies of this nature have concluded that the Mexican-American group has special needs and problems which must be addressed in order to improve college and university success rates. Supportive services such as tutorial studies, orientation programs, counseling, low-cost health facilities, financial aid and special summer institutes, are recommended in the literature (Ferrin, 1972; New Mexico University, 1971; Chicano Coordinating Council on Higher Education, 1971; Gomez & Vasquez, 1969; Martyn, 1968).

A brief review of admissions criteria reveals that institutions of higher learning have traditionally relied upon the SAT (or ACT), high school rank (or high school average), or a combination of the two, as being the most predictive of academic success. Recently, however, it has been suggested that these are not valid predictors for disadvantaged/minority students (Calkins & Whitworth, 1974; Wolff, 1974; Ballesteros, 1972; Cherdack, 1971). As a result, a number of non-traditional admissions criteria have been recommended such as the assessment of personality variables including measures of self-esteem (Medeiros & Reck, 1974; Spuck & Stout, 1969), the administration of diagnostic examinations (Harris, 1971), and the use of biographical data (Beasley & Sease, 1974; Davis, 1970).

A third body of literature draws a parallel between high Mexican-American dropout rates and the lack of a supportive university/community environment. The basic concept which is hypothesized is that the "culturally distinct" student probably makes lower test scores and accomplishes less academically than the member of the dominant culture because of a minimally reinforcing environment. In this point of view, emphasis is placed on factors such as lack of peers and staff with whom communication is possible, lack of adequate Mexican-American role models, absence of environmental reinforcements of cultural distinctiveness, and other socio-psychological variables which relate to family, peer and professional relationships (Vela, 1977; Gomez, 1973; Godard, 1969; Rodriguez, 1969). It is hypothesized that "culturally distinct" students who do not experience feelings of alienation and isolation will not differ from students from the dominant culture in their degree of success in college. There is, however, a lack of experimental evidence concerning this hypothesis.

The present study reports a longitudinal investigation comparing selected demographic traits and university achievement patterns for Mexican-American and Anglo students.

Method. A state university located in the extremity of a Southwestern state and on the Mexican border was the site of this study. In the Fall of 1969 the university enrollment was approximately 10,500 with about one-third of the student body having Spanish surnames. The city and county surrounding have an approximate 58% Spanish-surnamed population. The university is primarily a commuter campus, cost of tuition is low, and admissions standards are lenient.

The study utilized a five percent non-proportional stratified random sample of the undergraduate student body. Ethnicity, sex and year in school were the variables stratified. The ethnic distinction between Anglo and Mexican-American subjects was determined through the use of the U.S. Census Bureau list of Spanish surnames; Mexican-Americans were operationally defined as those students who had surnames listed as being Spanish. The sample consisted of 300 subjects (147 Anglos and 153 Mexican-Americans; 140 males and 160 females; 72 freshmen, 68 sophomores, 72 juniors, and 88 seniors).

Demographic data were obtained through the administration of the Sociolinguistic Background Questionnaire (Brooks, et.al., 1972). This instrument contains 100 self-report items which elicit demographic and linguistic information about university students. For purposes of the study reported here, certain of the demographic variables which relate most closely to academic achievement were utilized for analysis. These were socioeconomic status and previous educational experience.

Socioeconomic status was determined for each subject by assigning scale scores for education and occupation of the father, using a combination of the Hollingshead and Redlich educational scale, and Duncan's Socio-Economic Index (see Goodman and Brooks, 1974, for a complete description of this procedure). Based on scale scores, each subject was assigned to a social class designation as follows: Lower-Upper, Upper-Middle, Lower-Middle, Upper-Lower, and Lower-Lower. The Upper-Upper class was deleted since it was determined that those elements which are characteristic of that segment of the population were not present in subjects under study.

The SBQ contains two items related to preparatory education. Respondents were asked to indicate the names of schools they attended (most of which were in the immediate vicinity). Based on ethnic information provided by local school systems, elementary and secondary schools were categorized as Mostly Mexican-American, Mostly Anglo and Mixed. The categories Out of City and Mexico were responses available to subjects who did not attend local preparatory schools.

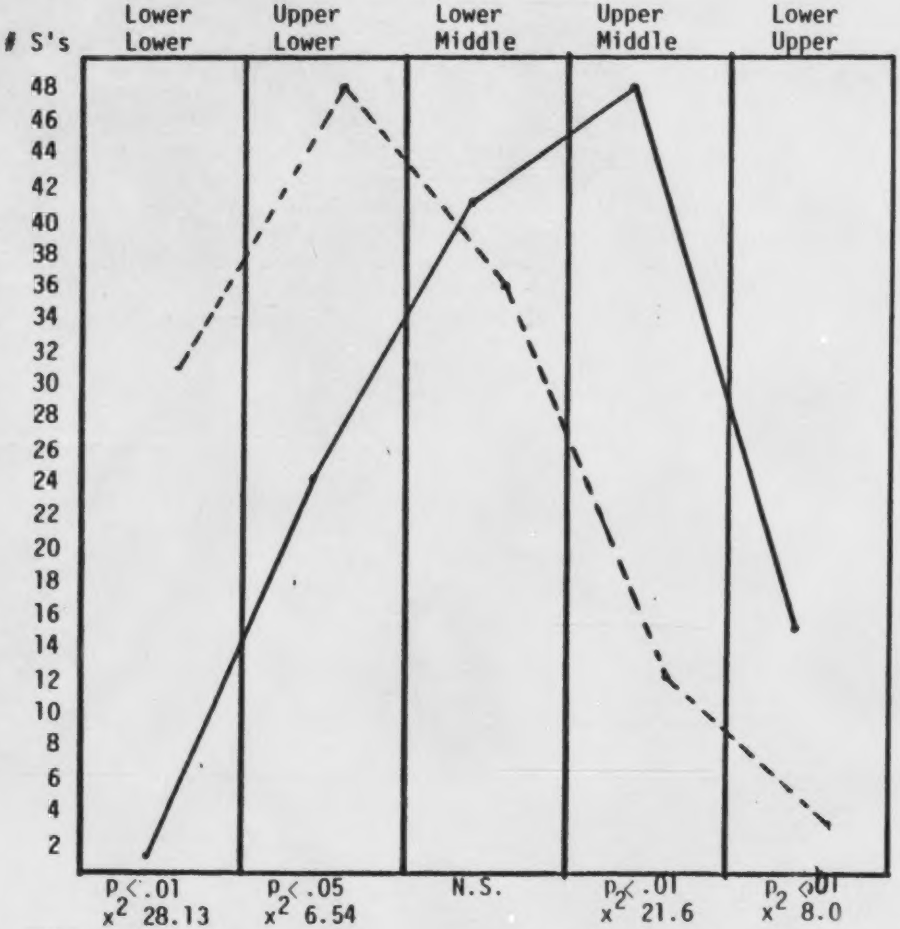
Additional data were obtained from university records, including SAT scores, high school rank, and grade-point average at various points in time, i.e., completion of 30, 60, 90 semester hours, and graduation. Analyses included comparative numbers of each ethnic group who had graduated, comparative grade-point averages for the groups, and time between enrollment and graduation for each of the groups.

Data were analyzed on an IBM 360/50 computer system, using analysis of variance programs written by Veldman (Guilford, 1950, 229-277) and Chi-square statistics (Guilford, 1950, 195-211). Differences were accepted as being significant at the .05 level of confidence.

Results. Figure 1 shows that the Mexican-Americans differed signigicantly from the Anglos in overall membership in socioeconomic class (Chi-square at the .01 level of confidence). By classes there were significantly more Mexican-Americans than Anglos in the Lower-Lower class (.01 level of confidence) and Upper-Lower class (.05 level). There was no significant difference in membership in the Lower-Middle class, but there were significantly more Anglos in the Upper-Middle and Lower-Upper classes (both at the .01 level of confidence). Although each social class was represented by each ethnic

Figure 1

SOCIAL CLASS DISTRIBUTION



N = 259 (18 Anglos, 23 M/A's w/ no response)

df = 4

x^2 = 70.611

p = < 001

group, more than 60% of the Mexican-American subjects were categorized in the two lowest classes, as compared with only 20% of the Anglos in those categories.

In pre-university schooling there was a significant difference between the two groups in the composition of the student bodies of the schools attended (Figure 2). Overall Mexican-Americans attended schools with predominatly Mexican-American student bodies and Anglos attended schools with predominantly Anglo student bodies (Chi-square significant at the .01 level of confidence at both elementary and high school levels). A relatively few subjects reported attending schools with mixed student populations and in neither elementary nor high school was there a significant difference in the numbers of each group making that report.

If minority-populated schools are less effective than mixed schools, then it would be expected that Mexican-American students would score lower in the university entrance examination (SAT). As illustrated in Figure 3, Anglo subjects scored significantly higher on the SAT than did the Mexican-Americans. Discrepancies of nearly 60 average points were noted on the Verbal Scale; likewise more than 50 average point discrepancies were found on the Math Scale. Both differences were significant at the .01 level of confidence. No significant differences were found between the two groups for high school grade-point average.

In summary, on entering the university the Mexican-Americans in this sample were approximately equal to Anglos in high school grade-point average, but had lower SAT Verbal and Mathematics scores, lower socioeconomic background and presumably inferior preparatory education. These data allude to a significant differential in presumed abilities between the two ethnic groups upon entrance to college.

Follow-Up. Measures of university success in this study were taken to be completion of a bachelor's degree, cumulative grade-point average, and time elapsed to completion of work for the degree.

Of the original subjects (153 Mexican-Americans and 147 Anglos) 196 had completed the degree by December, 1974, and there was no

Figure 2a
PREPARATORY SCHOOL BACKGROUND

Elementary School

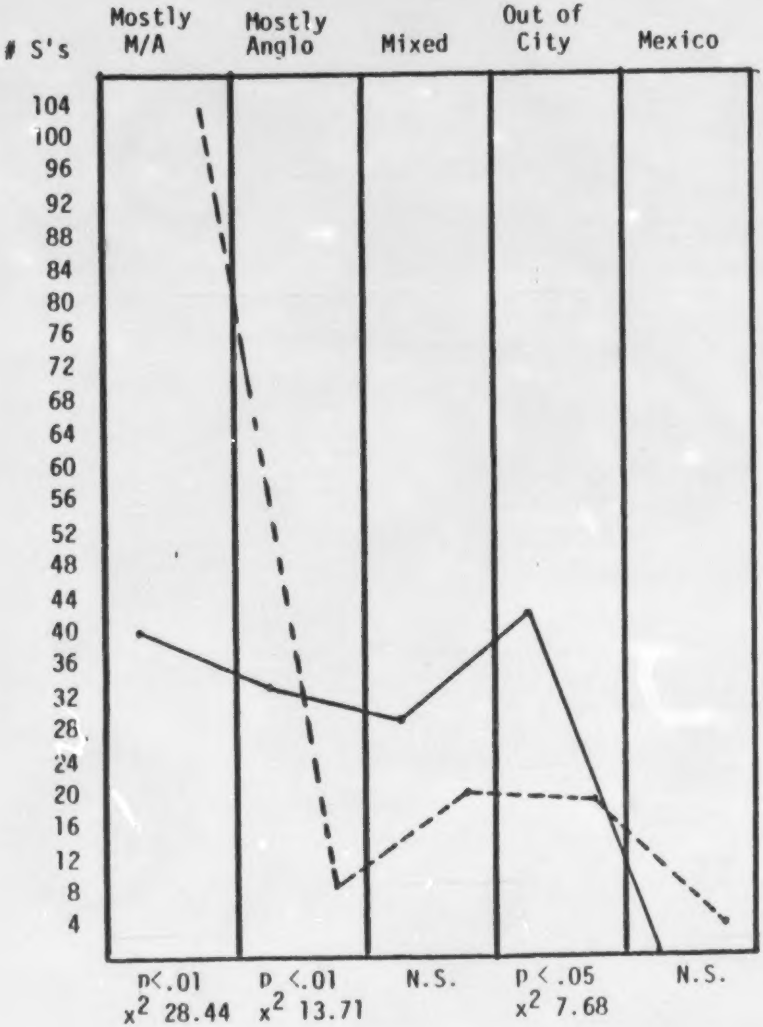


Figure 2b

High School

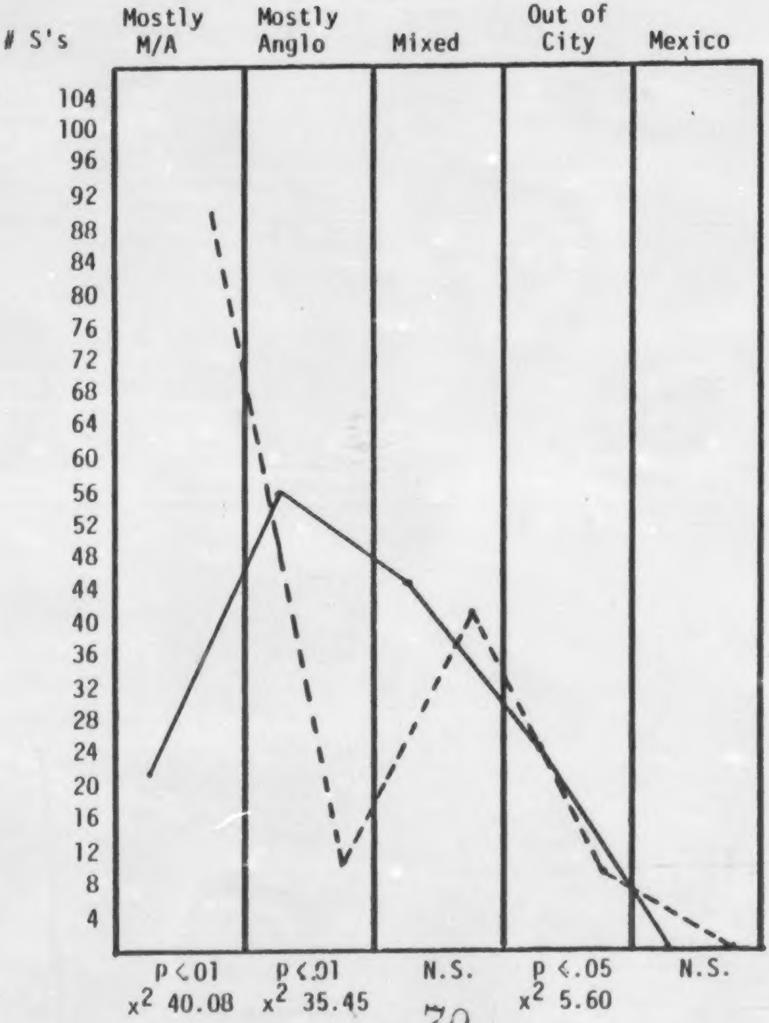
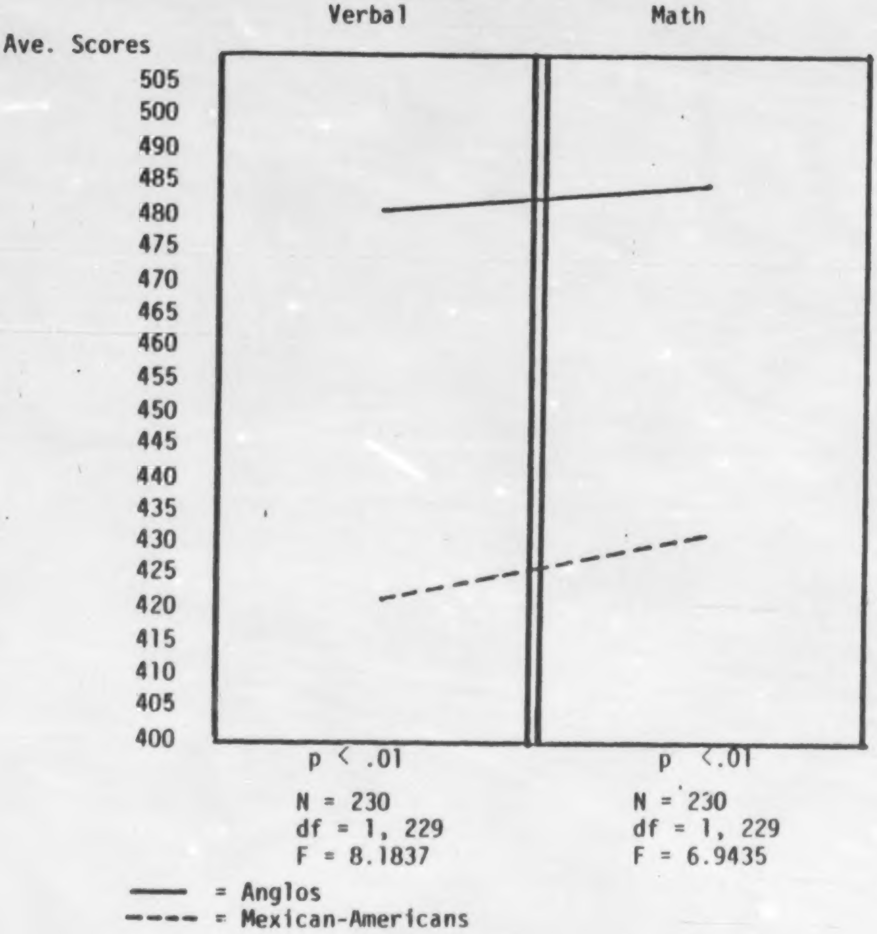


Figure 3

MEAN SAT SCORES BY ETHNICITY



N = 230
df = 1, 229
F = 8.1837

N = 230
df = 1, 229
F = 6.9435

—— = Anglos
---- = Mexican-Americans

significant difference in the number of each group who graduated or who were not enrolled at the time of compilation of data because of voluntary withdrawal, scholastic probation, or suspension (Figure 4).

For grade-point averages there was no significant difference between the two groups overall, or through a half-point interval from 0.5 to 4.0 (Figure 5). The two curves follow essentially the same pattern throughout the range of last computed grade-point average.

A final measure of relative success, using length of time for completion of work for the degree as the criterion, found no significant differences between the two groups. Figure 6 illustrates these findings. The great majority of both Anglo and Mexican-American subjects completed their degrees within 8-10 semesters of full-time study (within the normal range of completion of the bachelor's degree), with the remainder of the subjects following a similar pattern of completion in the categories 12 to 16+ semesters.

Conclusions. The university which is the locale of this study is to some degree a cosmopolitan institution, but in the main its student body consists of two large ethnic groups, Mexican-American and Anglo. Mexican-American students in this study entered the university with lower Verbal and Quantitative scores on the SAT, with largely segregated public school experience, with lower family income and lower level of fathers' education than their Anglo counterparts. These factors have traditionally been regarded as indicators of "educational deprivation," with the implication that these are deterrents to academic achievement. In this study Mexican-American students were equally as successful as Anglo students, when success was measured by completion of the bachelor's degree, by grade point average, and by length of time for completion of work for a degree. In summary, there were no differences in performance measures between Anglos and Mexican-Americans participating in this study.

Discussion. A number of factors might be suggested as reasons for the Mexican-American success phenomenon reported here. The local community and the university, with their high Mexican-American popu-

Figure 4

LAST KNOWN STATUS

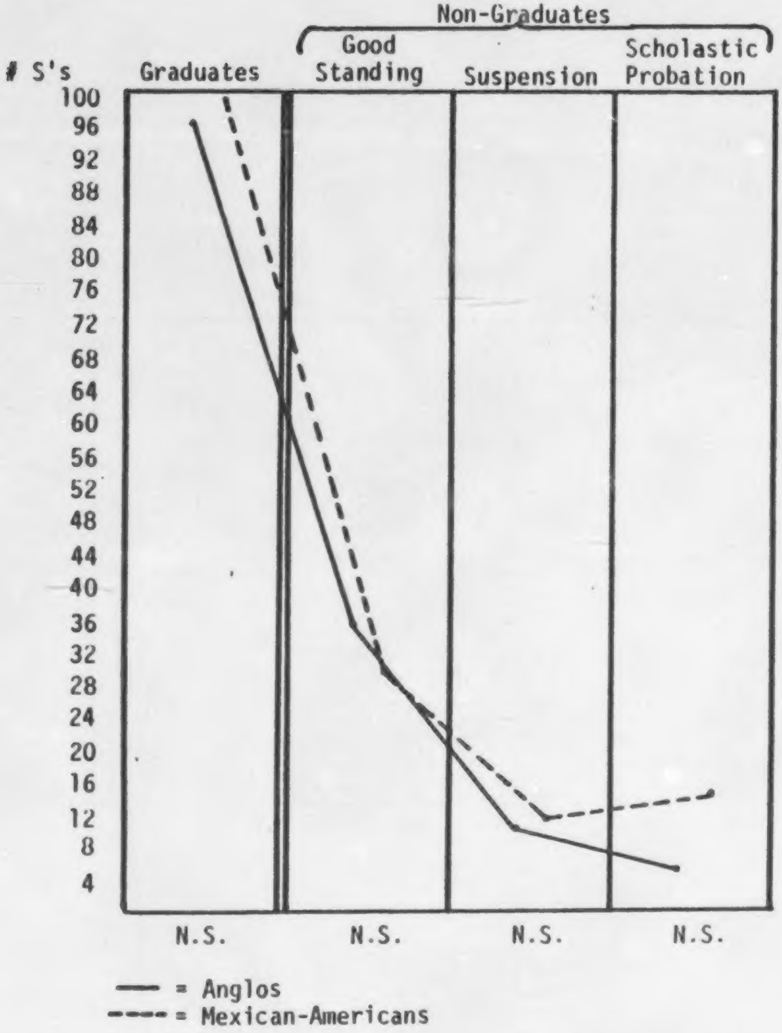


Figure 5

LAST CUMULATIVE GRADE POINT AVERAGE

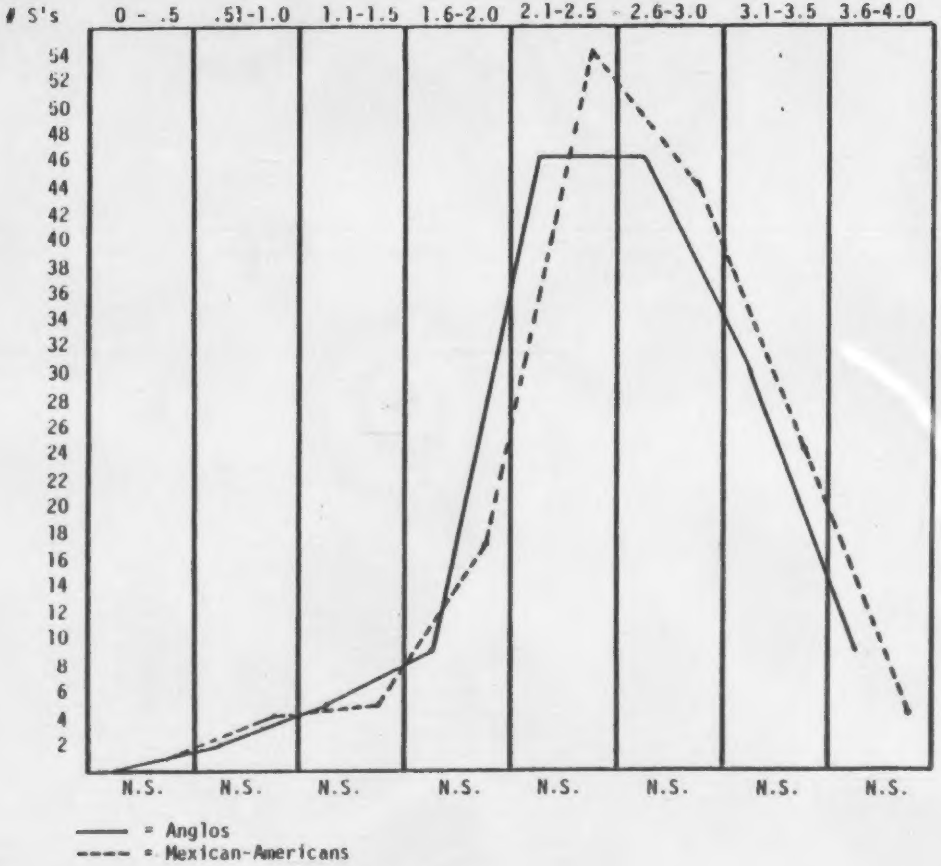
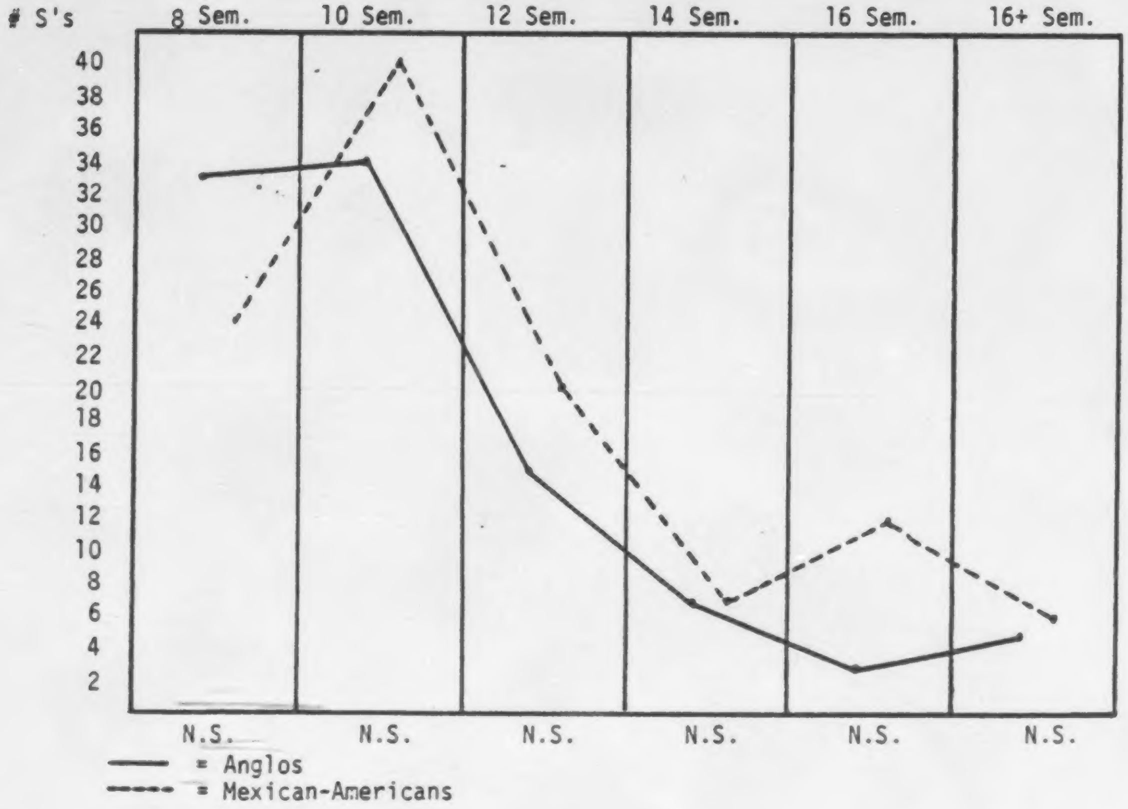


Figure 6

LENGTH OF TIME FOR COMPLETION



lation ratios, may be providing the type of atmosphere and support which reduces feelings of frustration and alienation described in the literature. The Mexican-American student in such an environment is perhaps better able to maintain a stance of "involvement with," as opposed to "estrangement from" the cultural background which is characteristic of his/her history.

Economic conditions and family support may have been a large factor in this study, since 98% of the subjects (both Anglo and Mexican-American) reported that they were living at home.. Low tuition costs, coupled with the presumed lower cost of remaining with one's family may serve to counteract the often-reported economic motivations for dropping out of school for minority groups.

Events which occurred in the interim between 1969 and 1974, involving strong Mexican-American militance and unification efforts (M.E.N.Ch.A. uprisings, emphasis on La Raza Unida) may have provided added support, encouragement, and feelings of confidence which fostered academic success. A related outcome of these and other national movements was greater attention on the part of the university to the recruitment of Mexican-American faculty and professional staff, thus providing cultural role models, the lack of which is often reported in the literature.

Although these may not have had the opportunity to impact large numbers of subjects participating in this study, the university has introduced a number of support systems, including a Reading and Study Skills/Tutorial Services Center, a Career Information Center which emphasizes graduate and professional training beyond the bachelor's degree, a Freshman Orientation Program, and a Chicano Studies Program. These services and curricula were added beginning in the early 1970's. Subjects who were at the beginning stages of their university study when this research commenced may have received benefits from such services.

Recommendations. This study has brought to light a number of issues which require further study and analysis. First, a deficit on the part of Mexican-American SAT scores was apparent upon entrance to the university, yet deprivation did not appear to be permanent. The implication is that additional research should be undertaken to determine the predictive qualities of this admissions criterion, particularly with respect to the Mexican-American student population.

An in-depth analysis of the campus environment should be undertaken to determine to what extent the university is providing an atmosphere of support and encouragement, as compared with the influence of family, community and border locale. If the campus is a significant factor in reducing feelings of isolation and alienation, it would follow that specific characteristics of the environment should be identified. Other colleges and universities, particulary those whose Mexican-American student populations are reportedly not as successful as would be hoped, could benefit from this information.

Finally, it is recommended that this study be replicated at other university campuses with significant Mexican-American student populations to determine to what extent the data presented here are locally unique, and to what extent they are characteristic of Mexican-Americans vs. Anglo student performance in the post-60's era. It might be hypothesized that, similar to the Black American culture, academic success ratios are on the increase for the Mexican-American population. Further research is needed to investigate the extent of, and reasons for, this phenomenon, if it does in fact exist.

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PART TWO:

INVESTIGATING ASPECTS OF BILINGUALISM

A HIERARCHICAL APPROACH TO MEASURES OF LANGUAGE PROFICIENCY[1]

Rodney W. Young[2]

A HIERARCHICAL APPROACH TO MEASURES OF LANGUAGE PROFICIENCY

Rodney W. Young

In any area of testing--other than, perhaps, achievement testing--there is generally a close tie between the theory of the area tested and the test itself. As theory changes, tests change to accommodate the theory, occasionally resulting in different perspectives for testing in general. The theory of an area being measured dictates what the test will be, although it can certainly be the case that what the test reveals results in a reconsideration and modification of the theory. Language testing has been in some way unique in that the field has been increasingly invaded by specialists in language rather than specialists in testing (Spolsky, forthcoming). It is as if there is so much change in notions of what it means to know a language that the linguists have sought some of the answers by moving into the field of testing, an area close to psychological reality. The specialization in language testing has influenced both the field of testing and the field of linguistics. New approaches to interpretations, such as the hierarchical one to be offered here, have the potential to influence both testing and language theories and certainly to demonstrate the close bond between theory and test.

The impetus for language testing came largely from the need to assess second language proficiency for students as well as applicants for various employment positions. The question has always been how to judge when somebody "knows" a language sufficiently well. Several years ago Spolsky (1968) posed the question of what it means to know a language within a framework of linguistic theory emphasizing the creative aspect of language (Chomsky, 1966). What Spolsky essentially did in this paper was point out that there had to be an adequate theory of language before there could be any consideration of proficiency assessment, and if a theory is accepted that claims language to be creative, then tests of language proficiency have to reflect this. The very idea that language is creative obviates the notion of sampling from the universe of language performance. Obviously language tests based on a principle of sampling from the universe are unlikely if there is no limit to the universe. If, however, the creative aspect of language results from a finite system with capability for infinite output, then the sampling universe is indeed limited and is a possibility for normal testing procedures. There are two difficulties with this idea which prevent serious consideration of it, however. First, there is no adequate description of the linguistic system. Second, there is no true agreement about what the system should be, especially with the current emphasis on language in its total communicative sense (see Jakobovits, 1969, and especially Spolsky, forthcoming). Without the adequate description of the linguistic system, no sampling approach is acceptable; and with the disagreement concerning the nature of language, any test is viable only to how functional it is for any given theory. Because of these difficulties, the primary emphasis has been toward tests that can capture the creative aspect of language in a functional sense, ignoring the specifics of the linguistic system being measured. This approach then allows interpretation within whatever theoretical position desired.

Tests that have the capacity to reflect creative skills in a functional sense are largely what Carroll (1961) termed integrative tests. Integrative tests are overall measures, yielding an index of general ability without any indication of the specific parts being assessed. This overall approach loses diagnostic value, but at least seems to be a closer reflection of the functional nature of language and fulfills, somewhat, the test's purpose of a general proficiency measure.

Furthermore, integrative tests have enough flexibility through adjusting the subject matter and the scoring procedure to accommodate some variation in linguistic theory.

This thrust toward integrative testing in language areas has also had some impact in other areas of testing. Achievement tests have generally been considered tests without theories, although what has been learned from language testing suggests the possibility of the same principle being used for achievement measures. Young (1975a) has argued that the pedagogical concepts of Bruner (1966, 1971) essentially constitute theories with a creative aspect for various subject areas of achievement, which can be assessed through novel situation testing. Bruner posited the idea that what was desired for students in any subject area was a set of underlying principles that guided performances in that subject. Bruner took this position from the linguistic theory that separated competence from performance (Chomsky, 1965). Although the scope of linguistic competence has been enlarged, the idea of competence as a set of underlying principles or rules is still widely used. Bruner's position adapted linguistic theory to pedagogical theory, including the creative aspect. Novel situation testing is testing for creative use in a particular area, something akin to integrative testing in that there is no emphasis on knowing exactly what the sub-skills are. This seems to suggest that the principles being used in language testing can have value for testing in other areas, such as providing a method for assessing and theorizing about achievement areas.

Integrative tests are measures of a total performance without any attempt to identify sub-skills. Integrative tests yield single indexes for a total performance, a performance generally within a novel situation. In second language testing, integrative tests have been based on comprehension of normal language with a variety of interferences, such as reduction in redundancy by means of added noise (reviewed in Spolsky, forthcoming) or by deletion of words in the cloze technique (reviewed in Oller, forthcoming). Theoretically a reduction in redundancy by means of noise requires greater linguistic proficiency to handle the total communication. The cloze test was similarly designed so that greater linguistic proficiency was necessary to replace regularly omitted words in a passage not previously read or heard. Still another form of integrative testing in second language proficiency was the use of a dictation test which involved the listener's ability to write down exactly what he heard (Oller, 1971). The cloze test is of primary interest because it is a paper-and-pencil test with a useable scoring procedure.

From the professional testing point of view, one primary concern is always whether any given test is valid. Many of the studies done in validating integrative tests of second language proficiency have been based on correlations with non-integrative tests such as the Test of English as a Foreign Langauge (TOEFL) (see Oller, forthcoming). These results have been generally positive and statistically significant and, at least, indicate that the various integrative measures as well as the non-integrative measures are reflective of something which might be called language ability or proficiency.

It would, however, make more sense to validate integrative tests according to construct validity (see Gronlund, 1971) because of the tremendous concern with linguistic theory. One approach to matching what language tests measure with what the psychological reality of knowing a language is (construct validity) comes from Oller (1975). Oller used a variety of measures of language ability in a factor analytic approach to infer a general language proficiency factor. Oller's position was that underlying various language measures is general language proficiency which explains the inter-relatedness of the measures. The factor analysis revealed that much of the variance of each of these measures could be explained by postulating a general language proficiency construct. The unaccounted-for variance of each measure could then be attributed to the idiosyncratic aspect of the specific measure.

Another approach to interpreting different language measures and establishing construct validity is to view the measures hierarchically (Young, 1975b). In this approach one measure is assumed to reflect a broader area than other measures. As a hierarchy the broad measure will include a larger proportion of the other measure than the converse, a notion compatible with a language theory that needs higher and lower levels of skills. This one-way relationship can complement Oller's (1975) factor analytic approach of inferring a general language proficiency factor by providing a means to assess which individual measure is nearest to the theoretical construct of language proficiency. Primarily, however, this approach establishes a perspective to view related language measures in a set order and explain differing proportions of variance within these measures.

In a recent paper Young (1975b) provided evidence that three measures of language ability did constitute a hierarchy for native speakers based on the predictive strength of the variables. One measure was an English composition grade; a second was a special composition test; and the third was a standardized English achievement-aptitude test. The English grade was the broadest measure as would be expected; the composition test was the second most broad; and the standardized test was the narrowest of the three. The regression-based prediction strength was stronger going down than up, thereby establishing the hierarchy. Theoretically, this implies that certain measures related to language ability are nearer to being measures of the construct itself than others. It further implies that the levels of the hierarchy can be established for theoretical as well as practical value. It allows all measures to be retained to fulfill the claims of the theory about language but it puts the measures into an order according to the amount they are dependent on language proficiency. Practically the hierarchical approach also allows the teacher or researcher to make assumptions about the presence of lower level skills once higher level skills have been ascertained. If, for example, the teacher comes to the conclusion that the student has the ability to write an effective paper spontaneously, then it can be safely assumed that the student also has an adequate grasp of the language. The converse, of course, is not true. The student could definitely have a grasp of the language but not be able to write an effective paper because of lack of other skills.

In Young's (1975b) study the hierarchy was confirmed by examining the absolute error from bivariate regression analysis (Nie, et al., 1975) between each set of measures, alternating which measure was the predicted one. Multiple regression was also used with two variables predicting a third. Every possible combination of predictors and predicted was analyzed to verify the hierarchy established by the bivariate analyses. The established hierarchy held although the overlap between variables was not uniform. In an ideal sense all the variance of a narrow-scope measure would be accounted for by a larger-scope measure (although the converse would not be true); however, the analyses revealed that only a percentage of the narrow-scope measure was accounted for by the broad-scope measure, leaving unaccounted-for variance with each measure. For all three measures the common overlap would be analogous to Oller's (1975) general language factor. All of the subjects for this study were monolingual speakers of English at the college level. The study did not deal with any specific phenomenon about bilingual speakers. It was done merely to demonstrate that language measures could be viewed hierarchically, both theoretically and empirically.

Because there was some evidence that language measures could be viewed hierarchically, another study was done. This study, which is the subject of the empirical portion of this paper, replicated the original study but used a cloze test in place of the English grade. A cloze test was chosen because of its use as a measure of language proficiency for second language speakers (see Oller, forthcoming) as well as its original use as a measure of readability for native speakers (Taylor, 1953). This study was intended to confirm again the notion of a hierarchy among related variables and to illustrate the relationship between language testing and language theory.

The measures used were the cloze test scored by the exact word method, a composition test (CST), and a standardized English achievement-aptitude test (ACT). The ACT is an admissions requirement for the University of New Mexico although there is no minimal score for entrance. The CST (Communication Skills Test) is an entrance test for the College of Arts and Sciences within the Univeristy of New Mexico. The cloze test was written and designed to be compatible with the Communication Skills Test and was an addendum to one of the nine testing sessions of the year. The results of 119 subjects were used for the analysis; all of these subjects were speakers of English, and all testing was done in English.

Because of the earlier study it was hypothesized that the CST would be the broadest-scope measure and because of the research documenting the value of the cloze test as a measure of language proficiency, it was hypothesized that the cloze test would be the narrowest measure. The ACT would be the middle measure. The relationship between each set of variables was analyzed by simple bivariate regression (Nie, et al., 1975), alternating which variable was the predicted and which was the predictor. The standard error of estimate, which is an index of the absolute accuracy of a regression prediction, was then normalized into a percentage of the range for comparison. Table 1 summarizes the first level of analysis.

TABLE 1
RELATIVE ABSOLUTE ERROR
OF BIVARIATE REGRESSION

Prediction *	Error as % of Range
CST by ACT ACT by CST	24.94 19.13
CST by Clz Clz by CST	24.98 20.69
ACT by Clz Clz by ACT	14.72 16.22

N = 119

* All predictions statistically significant, $p < .001$

From this level of analysis, it is possible to detect that there is a general hierarchy although the relationship between the cloze test and the ACT is opposite of the hypothesis. The CST is the broadest measure and is in approximately the same relationship with both ACT and the cloze. In predicting from the CST, the error was 19.13% of the range for ACT and 20.69% for the cloze, indicating a very similar relationship between CST and both ACT and cloze. The error is 14.72% in predicting ACT by the cloze and 16.22% in predicting cloze by ACT. This suggests that for these native speakers, less of the performance on the cloze test was due to language proficiency than for the ACT if the common element of the two tests is language proficiency. If this analysis has some merit, this suggests that the cloze test for this group of people is something other than a language proficiency measure or that language proficiency has to be defined to reflect this phenomenon. Again, this is the case if both of these measures share something in common, which might be called language proficiency. A more detailed discussion of the relationship between testing and language theory will be pursued further later in this paper.

A second level of analysis confirmed the finding that ACT was of narrower scope than the cloze test. Multiple regression was done predicting one variable by the combination of the other two variables. Every possible combination was done to verify the hierarchy. Table 2 summarizes these analyses, again relying on the absolute error from the standard error of estimate.

TABLE 2

RELATIVE ABSOLUTE ERROR OF MULTIPLE REGRESSION

Prediction*	Error as % of Range
CST by Clz & ACT	24.04%
ACT by Clz & CST	14.46%
Clz by ACT & CST	15.64%

N = 119

* $p < .001$

Once again the hierarchy showed up with ACT the narrowest measure with 14.46% error as opposed to 15.64% for the cloze measure. In that absolute error is a reflection of differing individual test variance, a third analysis was done that would indicate how much total shared variance would be accounted for by different predictions. Table 3 summarizes these results.

TABLE 3

RELATIVE VARIANCE OF MULTIPLE REGRESSION

Prediction*	Accounted-for Variance
CST by Clz & ACT	35.33%
ACT by Clz & CST	60.26%
Clz by ACT & CST	61.70%

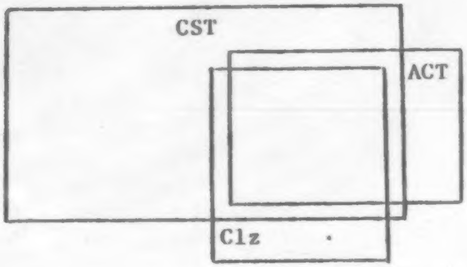
N = 119

* p < .001

From this approach the cloze test becomes the narrowest scope measure in that more variance is accounted for in predicting cloze by ACT and CST than by predicting ACT by cloze and CST. This contradiction of whether ACT or cloze is the narrowest variable is a function of the intended use of the prediction. Both the standard error of the estimate and the shared variance are the result of a single statistical analysis. The standard error of estimate reveals the absolute error for the practical problem of calculating predictions while the shared variance is more for conceptual or theoritical understanding. This discrepancy primarily suggests that there is little difference in the scope of the two measures in their relationship to CST. Figure 1 provides a graphic approximation of the three language measures in relationship to each other. (See the following page.)

FIGURE 1

THE INTER-RELATIONSHIP OF THREE LANGUAGE MEASURES



If the language proficiency factor is the area of common overlap for all three measures, then both ACT and the cloze account for a nearly equal proportion of it. The evidence does suggest that these three language measures do bear something of a hierarchical arrangement with each other with some small difference between the ACT and the cloze but without any clear indication as to which of these two is the narrower.

The significant question, of course, is whether either ACT or the cloze approximate language proficiency at all. Certainly ACT is not designed to be a measure of language proficiency; perhaps it could be, depending on what the theory of language claims about language ability. The cloze test is generally not claimed to be a test of language proficiency for native speakers although it is claimed to be such for second language speakers. Such a dual purpose needs to be carefully accounted for in a theory of language as well as in a theory of testing. What is more likely is that the cloze test is primarily a measure of some one thing, such as reading skill (as is ACT), and that reading skill for second language speakers is approximately equivalent to language ability for the college bound student. If this is not the case then the theory of language needs to be made more compatible with the hierarchical findings that suggest a strong overlap between the cloze test and a college entrance standardized test of English. Also, in that the hierarchy results from a narrowing proportion of test variance, claims of construct validity will have to be based on a language theory that similarly reflects this. And if the theory is to be compatible for both second language speakers and native speakers, then a particular sort of continuum of ability will have to be projected for all people concerning ability in a language whether native speakers or second language speakers.

In conclusion the notion that language measures can be viewed hierarchically has further empirical support, suggesting an approach to viewing measures at different levels. This approach allows more flexibility in validating a language theory from several measures than by simply correlating them. This approach also provides a technique for validating language measures, especially for construct validity, within a language theory that needs a definite arrangement of its components to be more meaningful. And finally this approach demonstrates the closeness of the interdependency of theory and testing.

Tables 4 and 5 are provided as addenda to give the reader the additional perspective of descriptive statistics.

TABLE 4
DESCRIPTIVE STATISTICS OF LANGUAGE MEASURES

Measure	M	SD	Min.	Max.
CST*	2.151	.889	1.000	4.000
ACT	15.697	5.230	5.000	28.000
Clz	17.605	5.511	6.000	28.000

N = 119
* CST scores are 1 = high; 4 = low.

TABLE 5
CORRELATION MATRIX OF THREE LANGUAGE MEASURES

	CST	ACT	Clz
CST	1.000	- .546*	- .569*
ACT		1.000	.764*
Clz			1.000

* $p < .001$

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NOTES

[1] This paper was written for presentation at the Symposium on Bilingual/Bicultural Education hosted by the Cross-Cultural Southwest Ethnic Study Center at the University of Texas at El Paso, June 12-14, 1975.

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THE ACQUISITION OF ENGLISH

IN WELLAND, ONTARIO

BY FRENCH CANADIAN STUDENTS

Raymond Mougeon, Pierre Hebrard &
Suwanda Sugunasiri

THE ACQUISITION OF ENGLISH BY FRENCH CANADIAN STUDENTS IN WELLAND, ONTARIO

Raymond Mougeon, Pierre Hébrard &
Suwanda Sugunasiri

1. Introduction

The main purpose of the present study is to examine the acquisition of English by school aged francophone children of Welland. In order to lend perspective to the study we will first describe the linguistic situation in Welland focusing specifically on the younger francophones of that city.

1.0 The linguistic situation in Welland

Situated in Southern Ontario (Niagara County), Welland has a population of 44,395 of which 17% speak French as their mother tongue (Census of Canada, 1971). The bulk of francophones in Welland are concentrated in one area of the city and although they are the majority in this area (the eastern side of the city) a sizable anglophone minority live there also. French is the language which is most often used by the parents whose mother tongue is French to communicate with their children at home. However English is also used by these parents especially to communicate with their older children (see Mougeon & Hébrard, 1975 (a) for more details). Outside the home, the children are exposed to English quite extensively from their childhood on;[1] the different sources of exposure to English other than family are: (a) socializing with their anglophone peers; (b) social interaction with the anglophone majority, outside their own neighborhood such as in stores; (c) listening to radio and TV which are almost all English speaking; (d) compulsory English classes from Grade 3 on in French language schools; and (e) studying certain subjects entirely in English at the secondary level. As a result, "francophone" children use English (in varying degrees) to communicate among themselves from a very young age. Thus English becomes their dominant language of communication as they approach puberty. In this respect, it is not rare to hear adolescents report they can express themselves better in English than in French.

1.1 The purpose of the study.

Bearing in mind the situation described above (simultaneous acquisition of French and English), we have thought it to be of interest to study the acquisition of English by the young Welland bilinguals with a view to assessing among other things the influence of French on their acquisition of English. We have decided to focus first on spoken rather than written English inasmuch as we believe that a study of spoken English is a prerequisite for an analysis of written English. To study the acquisition of spoken English, we have done an error-analysis of the spoken English of the bilingual children. We perceive errors as a good index of the progressive acquisition of a language (see review of the literature in the following section).

The error analysis has been conducted at the syntactic and lexical levels only.

The present study will be followed soon by a similar study on the acquisition of French by the same population. When it is completed we will be in a good position to assess the respective mastery of English and French by our subjects.

The present study has several goals: (a) to review some of the most recent error analytic studies on the simultaneous acquisition of two languages and on the acquisition of a second language; (b) to examine some of the practical and theoretical problems posed by the gathering and the classification of errors; (c) to offer a taxonomy of errors; (d) to present and discuss the results of our analysis; (e) to draw several theoretical conclusions on the basis of the results of our analysis.

1.2 Review of the literature

There are only a few error analyses which, like ours, are concerned with simultaneous acquisition of two languages.

Among the most recent is the article by Swain & Wesche (1973). In this paper, the two authors study the evolution of the language production of a bilingual child (French and English) from age 3.1 to 3.10. They examine, in particular, the interference factor affecting the two languages spoken by the subject. A detailed analysis of the linguistic switching found in the child's speech shows that it is characterized first, by a stage in which the two languages are regrouped to form a unique code and later by a stage in which the languages are almost entirely differentiated.

There are, however, a number of relatively important error analyses on the first stages of acquisition of a second language by very young children. The most recent ones propose a generative hypothesis, stating that the acquisition of a language is an evolutionary process related to: (a) the cognitive development of the speaker, and (b) the existence of linguistic universals and, following from that, learning universals; and not to a process of habit formation by repetition and imitation (the behaviorist hypothesis). As for the influence of the mother tongue on the acquisition of a second language, there is disagreement among the different authors. All these questions are studied in a number of theoretical papers: Nemser (1971), Corder (1971), Gorbet (1974).

Among the works that show the influence of the mother tongue on the processes of language acquisition, is the study by Dumas, Selinker & Swain (1973). Furthering the interlanguage hypothesis (Selinker, 1972), the authors examine a sample of French spoken by a group of anglophones (mean age: 7 years) at the end of their second year in a French immersion program. They show that the errors made in the second language are attributable both to the influence of the mother tongue and to systematic learning processes which are not directly linked to the characteristics of either the mother tongue or the second language. The speech of the children in the second language is called an "intermediary language" or "interlanguage".

In a recent article (1974), the same authors apply the "intermediary language" hypothesis to the French spoken by anglophone youth in an immersion program in Toronto. Particularly focusing on the linguistic interference phenomenon, they propose an interesting classification of types of errors due to such interference.

In a monograph, Hakuta (1974) studies the order of acquisition of fourteen English functors by five-year-old Japanese children learning English in a "natural" context. The order of acquisition found in this study is different from that found in the acquisition of the same morphemes by children whose mother tongue is English. These differences are explained in part by the interference of Japanese.

In the same vein, Scott and Tucker (1974) analyze the competence in English of twenty-two students of Arabic following an intensive intermediary English language course. The authors have collected a sample of written and spoken English at the beginning and the end of the course. The errors are divided into three types: errors of performance, errors of interference, and errors due to false analogies based on certain structural features of the target language. The authors establish an order of acquisition of certain structures and go on to describe certain aspects of the transitional grammar of the subjects studied.

Lewis's (1974) study is little different from those we have reviewed so far. The author analyzes the effects that Jamaican Creole (first language) and English (second language) have on the learning of Spanish (third language) by students in Jamaican secondary schools. Lewis in particular studies the question of linguistic interference and demonstrates that in spite of structural affinities that exist between Creole (language of inferior status) and Spanish, the students make more "negative transfers" from English (the language of higher status) to Spanish than "positive transfers" from Creole to Spanish.

Some other studies tend to show that the mother tongue of the speaker plays only a minor role in the acquisition of a second language and points to the existence of universals of learning that account for the acquisition of a second language. We can cite the study by Dulay & Burt (1973) here. They study the acquisition of eleven English functors by children whose mother tongue is either Chinese or Spanish, and show that the functors are acquired in the same order by both groups. The authors thus deduce the existence of universals of learning and outline a program of research for the study of such universals. They reject the hypothesis that a speaker's mother tongue has a decisive influence on his acquisition of a second language, a hypothesis that appears to them as being contrary to the generative theory.

In a longitudinal monograph, Milon (1974) studies the speech of a seven-year-old Japanese child who has been learning English for a period of six months. The study shows that there are some clear similarities between the subjects' stage in acquiring negation and those which have been observed in relation to the acquisition of English as a first language by Klima & Bellugi (1966).

Dulay and Burt (1974) try to determine if the syntactic errors made by children speaking English as a second language are due to the influence of their mother tongue or to some strategies of cognitive development similar to those that have been shown to exist in first-language acquisition. The results show that only 4.7% of the errors can be explained with any certainty in terms of the influence of the mother tongue, whereas cognitive development strategies account for 87.1% of them.

Finally, in contrast to the preceding studies, three authors propose less "extreme" hypotheses regarding the acquisition of a second language. Cancino, Rosansky and Schumann (1974) study the acquisition of English by three Spanish-speaking beginners in a natural context. More particularly, they examine the acquisition of the copula and negation in order to test some hypotheses regarding the learning of a second language. The results of their study lead them to admit that the mother tongue of their learners has some influence on their acquisition of English.

Our review of the literature indicates that both second language learners and "bilingual" learners commit errors which are of two types, i.e. interference errors and developmental errors. However the different authors mentioned above have differing views on the respective influence of mother tongue and cognitive development on second language acquisition. In the present study we will try to give some answers to these questions as well as other related questions.

1.3 The Sample

We have selected a stratified sample of 30 students in Grade 2, 5, 9, and 12, from two French language schools in Welland, one elementary and one secondary, the latter being the only French secondary school in that city.

In a way our study is "longitudinal", in that we have chosen subjects at different grades and at sufficient intervals of age, enough to show the difference in the acquisition of English as a function of age. Sixteen of our subjects are female and fourteen male. Subjects were chosen on the basis of three socioeconomic categories. The following table shows the breakdown of employment of the fathers of the subjects in the three categories.

TABLE I

BREAKDOWN OF EMPLOYMENT IN
THE THREE SOCIOECONOMIC
CATEGORIES

Class I	Class II	Class III
1 doctor 1 superintendent in a School Board 2 principals 3 teachers 1 bank manager	1 account clerk 1 public transit inspector 1 shipper 2 technicians 1 insurance agent 1 self-employed electrician	7 factory workers (skilled & unskilled) 1 taxi driver 1 waiter 2 machinists (construction)

The fact that the number of fathers in classes I and II is less than the number of subjects from these categories is due to the fact that the sample includes brothers and sisters.

TABLE 2

BREAKDOWN OF 29[2] SUBJECTS ACCORDING TO THE SOCIOECONOMIC CATEGORY OF THEIR FATHERS, GRADE LEVEL AND SEX

GRADE	SEX	SOCIOECONOMIC CATEGORY			TOTAL		
		I	II	III	by sex M	by sex F	by grade
2	M	1	1	1	3		8
	F	2	1	2		5	
5	M	1	2	1	4		7
	F	1	1	1		3	
9	M	2	0	1	3		7
	F	0	2	2		4	
12	M	1	1	1	3		7
	F	1	1	2		4	
Total		9	9	11	13	16	29

1.4 Collection of data

The data on which our study is based have been collected through a series of interviews done in 1974. They were part of a much wider sociolinguistic survey (see Mougeon & Hébrard, 1975 (a), for more details). Each student was interviewed twice, once in English and once in French, by bilingual interviewers. The two interviews were separated by about two weeks. In order to minimize the possible negative effects of having to answer the same questions twice, it was decided to alternate the language of the first interview from one subject to the other, and in each age group. The interviews of Grade 9 and 12 consisted of four series of questions: (1) personal history, (2) personal interests and social life (3) language skills and usage, and (4) language attitudes (see Appendix). For the students of Grades 2 and 5, the fourth series was dropped, and the second series was replaced by a modified version (see Appendix). Differing from series 1 and 3, series 2 was made up of open questions in order to obtain spontaneous speech. Such discourse seemed to us to be more appropriate for linguistic analysis inasmuch as it is relatively uninterrupted and less formal, and therefore more representative of the every day speech of the students. Series 4 was made up of open questions but it was not analysed linguistically because of the content of the questions.

The mean duration of the interviews was about 45 minutes, of which approximately 30 minutes were taken up by the second series. The latter served as a basis for the error analysis.

1.5 The collection and classification of errors

The interviews were transcribed in regular orthography. The transcriptions were then corrected and retyped. We have identified the errors on the basis of these corrected transcriptions. Only the grammatical and lexical errors have been collected. We have taken the term "grammatical" in the wider sense, to include not only structural errors (e.g., word order, transformations, etc.) but also those of functors (e.g., affixes, articles, prepositions, pronouns, demonstratives). Under the lexical category are included errors in the usage and meaning of substantives, adjectives and verbs.

We have taken as errors all deviations from spoken standard Canadian English. The latter we have defined as the variety of English used by educated monolingual Canadian anglophones in a semiformal communication situation. The collection of errors was done in cooperation with several linguistic informants who possessed the characteristics we have just mentioned. These informants were to decide on the basis of their language intuitions whether particular features of the speech of our subjects were acceptable or not in the semiformal situation of the interview. When our informants disagreed we counted as errors the structures that were rejected by the majority. The choice of a standard norm has in part been motivated by the fact that this is the variety which is supposedly taught in schools but above all by the fact that we lacked precise data about the variety of English used by young monolingual Canadian anglophones in a semiformal situation.[3] The following types have been counted as errors:

(a) the non-occurrence of a required form in a given context:

e.g., non-occurrence of the plural affix:

All the boy came. W5[4]

(b) the occurrence of an erroneous form:

e.g., occurrence of -ed ending with an irregular verb in the past:

Yesterday he goed to the movies. W2

e.g., occurrence of the definite article where it is not required:

My brother does not like the butter but he likes milk. W2

(c) the occurrence of an incomplete form:

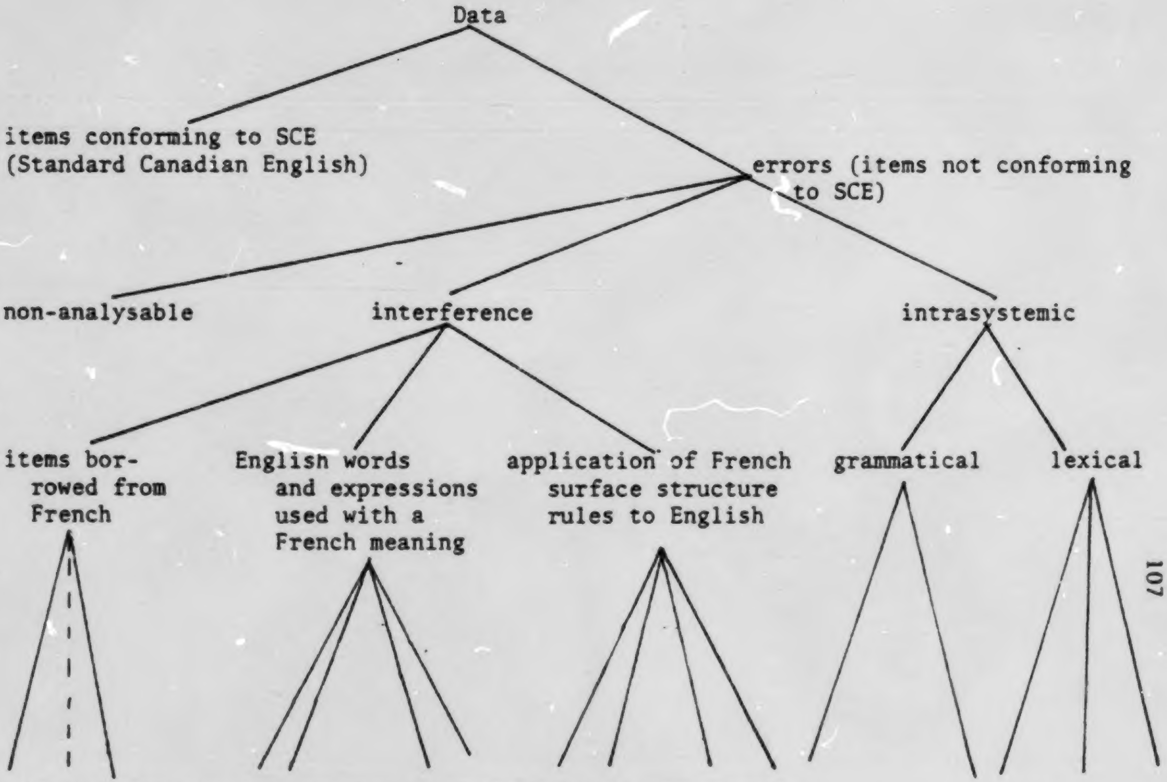
e.g., incomplete persent perfect:

He has take them to school. W9

With regard to the type (b) errors, we have adopted the following general principle of classification: all errors have been systematically classified in the category of the correct form that was required and not in that of the incorrect form: e.g., "Yesterday I go to school" (W5) as an error in the simple past category; "He talks English very good" (W5) as an error in the adverb category.

We shall now lay out in detail the problems posed by the classification of the errors of our corpus. But first we shall give, in the form of a tree-diagram, the principal categories under which errors have been classified.

(please see next page)


Data
items conforming to SCE (Standard Canadian English)
errors (items not conforming to SCE)
non-analysable
interference
intrasystemic
items borrowed from French
English words and expressions used with a French meaning
application of French surface structure rules to English
grammatical
lexical

TREE-DIAGRAM I.: THE GENERAL CATEGORIES OF CLASSIFICATION

As can be seen, the errors are classified into three basic categories: interference errors, intrasystemic errors and non-analysable errors. By interference is meant the influence of French on the spoken English of the subjects. We have included in this category only those errors that show a clear and direct influence of French. These errors are divided into three subcategories, to be further divided into several types. The three subcategories are: (a) borrowing of French items, (b) "English" words and expressions used in a French sense, and (c) the application of French surface structure rules to English. In category (a), we thus find errors caused by the transfer of French lexical and /or grammatical items to English.

e.g., Is that those little nains? W2

My father used to arracher des patates. W12

And si I go on it, it will break. W3

In category (b) we find errors due to the possible semantic "contamination" of English linguistic items by their French equivalents.

e.g., We used to go skating but now it's finished. (C'est fini) W5

When you open all the lights. (ouvrir les lumières). W2

Every day we go at Quebec (à Québec). W9

In category (c) are found errors that are probably due to the influence of French word order on English word order.

e.g., It's a kind of dance funny (danse amusante). W2

A human can't control completely his train (controler complètement son cerveau).

By intrasystemic errors are meant those related to the progressive acquisition of English operating independently of French. This progressive acquisition depends notably on (a) the cognitive development of the speakers (especially in the case of young speakers), (b) on the complexity of the linguistic structures to be acquired (see review of literature), and (c) on the nature of the acquisition context. Bearing in mind the fact that our young learners have acquired English in much the same way as it is acquired by unilingual learners (natural context of acquisition), it is not unreasonable to assume that many of the errors made by unilingual learners while acquiring English will also be found in the speech of our younger subjects. This assumption has indeed been proven correct since quite a number of the intrasystemic errors made by our subjects were similar to these referred to as developmental errors in the review of the literature.

We have also included in this category of intrasystemic errors a certain number of linguistic elements which characterize non standard varieties of English (e.g. double negation). Such linguistic elements have been counted as errors because we had chosen spoken standard English Canadian as a base norm (see p. 12). We are nonetheless aware of the fact that such "errors" should be viewed differently from developmental or interference errors.

In the course of our error analysis we have also noted that a number of the "errors" just mentioned were hard to differentiate from the developmental errors which are due to the regularization or simplification of linguistic structures (a common learning strategy).

e.g., He don't want to. W5

There was a lot people. W12

I don't got money. W2

In the case of young subjects who use such structures fairly frequently, it has been difficult for us to say with certainty whether the use of such structures corresponded to the stage of simplification referred to on the preceding page or to "genuine" non-standard usage. For this reason all errors of this type have been classified under intrasystemic errors.

Intrasystemic errors (see tree-diagram 3 p.) are divided into subcategories, which have been further divided into several types. The two subcategories are (a) grammatical errors and (b) lexical errors. Under subcategory (a) have been included errors relating to word order or to the use of particular grammatical units.

e.g., He says a lot of stuff beautiful (adjective placement). W2

So his wife asked if she can go along (Tense usage). W12

In subcategory (b), we have included errors in the meaning of verbs, adjectives and substantives.

e.g., Instead of slamming on the brakes, he turns the gas. W5

Interviewer: What was the house made of?

Child: It was made of tree. W9

In the non-analysable category, we have included:

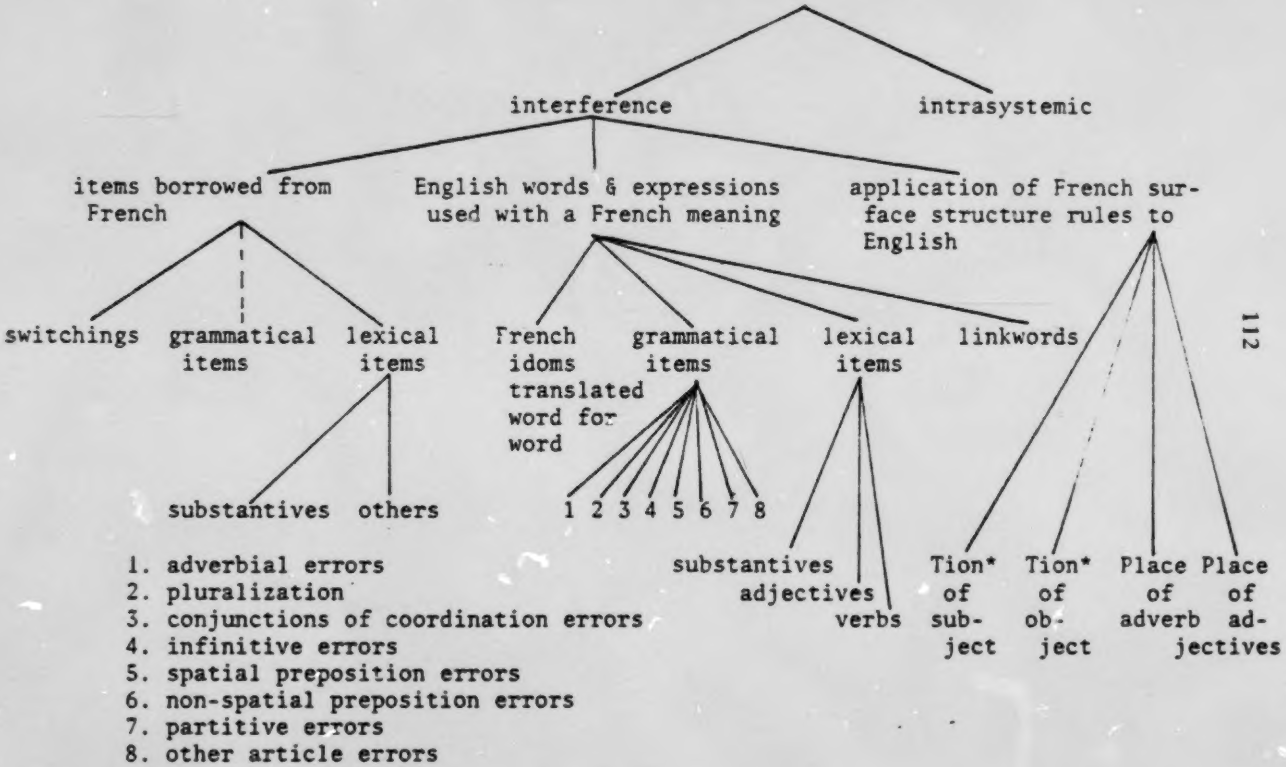
1. garbled or muttered utterances;
2. incomplete utterances, the missing elements of which are impossible to determine with certainty. This in turn makes it difficult to identify exactly what type of error it is:

e.g., Then big noise, in house, you know. W9

This is not to be confused with false starts, e.g. "I have, I have told him about ... about them" (W9), which have not been counted among errors.

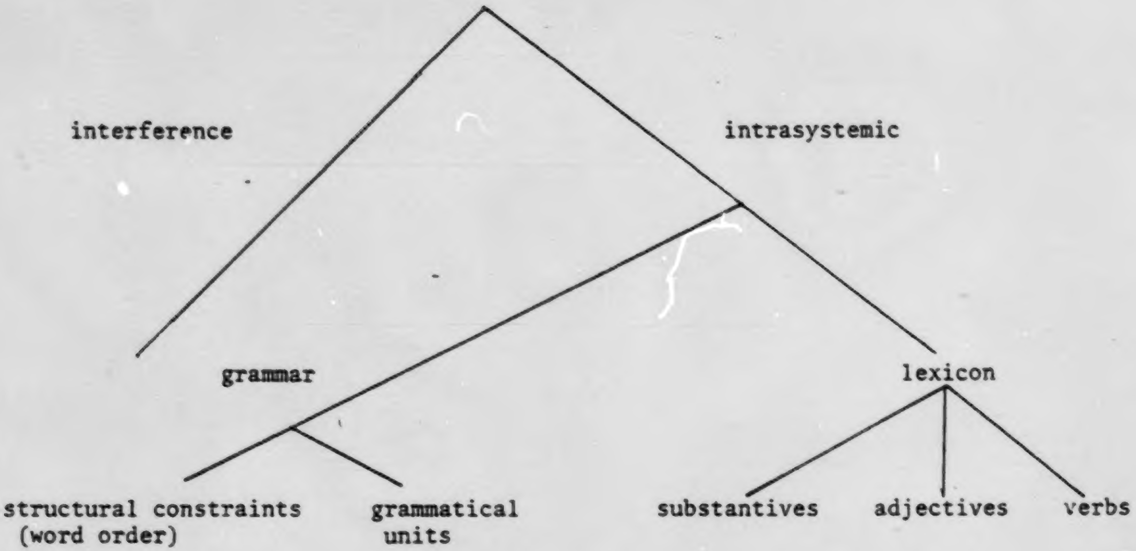
3. utterances that can't be interpreted and therefore can't be classed into any of the error types:

It must be noted that these types of utterances have a common characteristic, i.e., being difficult to interpret.


interference
intrasystemic
items borrowed from French
English words & expressions used with a French meaning
application of French surface structure rules to English
switchings
grammatical items
lexical items
substantives
others
French idoms translated word for word
grammatical items
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8
lexical items
substantives
adjectives
verbs
linkwords
Tion* of subject
Tion* of object
Place of adverb
Place of adjectives
1. adverbial errors
2. pluralization
3. conjunctions of coordination errors
4. infinitive errors
5. spatial preposition errors
6. non-spatial preposition errors
7. partitive errors
8. other article errors

TREE-DIAGRAM 2: INTERFERENCE ERRORS

**topicalization*


interference
intrasystemic
grammar
lexicon
structural constraints (word order)
grammatical units
substantives
adjectives
verbs

N.B.: The subcategories that make up the types "structural constraints" and "grammatical units" are too numerous to be listed here. See Appendix.

TREE-DIAGRAM 3: INTRASYSTEMIC ERRORS

2. Presentation and discussion of results[5]

Study of the variation of percentages of errors as a function of the age of the subjects

We shall first examine the total number of errors made by all the subjects of our sample.

TABLE III

VARIATION OF THE TOTAL NUMBER OF ERRORS AS A FUNCTION OF THE AGE OF THE SUBJECTS

GRADE	TOTAL NUMBER OF ERRORS	TOTAL NUMBER OF WORDS UTTERED	% OF ERRORS IN RELATION TO TOTAL NO. OF WORDS
2	897	13,988	6.1
5	444	11,590	3.8
9	329	11,082	2.9
12	276	12,854	2.1
TOTAL	1,946	49,514	

It can be said first of all that the total number of errors decreases with age, a fact which is indicative of the progressive acquisition of English. However, it is necessary to interpret this variation as a function of the relative length of the interviews. For this, we have counted the total number of words[6] uttered by the subjects in such age group, and have thereby calculated a percentage of errors. The percentage found thus do not have any goal other than to give a general indication of the mastery of English by our subjects, inasmuch as one word can be the source of more than one error and all words do not present the same amount of difficulty.

Bearing in mind these reservations, it is interesting to see that at the age of seven (Grade 2), students already have good control of spoken English, since the mean error percentage is only 6.1. By the age 17 (Grade 12), the percentage decreases to 2.1, and this can be taken to indicate a very good mastery of spoken English.

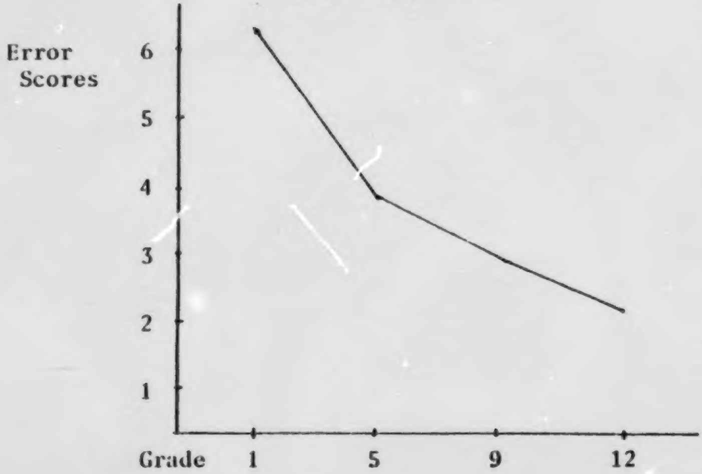
We wish to remind our readers here that we have chosen spoken standard Canadian English as a base norm for error collection. We are conscious of the fact that such a norm is somewhat demanding. When we compare the performance of our bilingual subjects with that of unilingual subjects of the same age (see study mentioned in note[3]), it is likely that we will find somewhat lower percentages of error. This being said we express the wish that our similar analysis of the French of our subjects will show that they have mastered French as well as they have English. It is difficult to compare our results with those that have been arrived at by Scott and Tucker (1974). We have analysed all lexical and grammatical errors whereas these authors have limited themselves to very frequent syntax errors. Furthermore their subjects were adults whose mother tongue was Arabic and were learning English through an intensive course. It is the same with the other studies (see the literature preceding) on the acquisition of English, since they are most often limited to the study of a few morphemes determined a priori.

The confidence interval test indicates that there is a significant difference ($p < .01$) between Grade 2 percentage and Grade 5 percentage in Table I. This may be a result of the introduction of lessons in English beginning with Grade 3. However there appears to be a drop in the rate of acquisition after Grade 5, since there is only a difference of 0.8% between percentages of Grade 9 and Grade 12 and since this difference is not significant ($p = .01$).

The evolution of the acquisition of English can best be shown with a graph.

FIGURE 4

VARIATION OF ERROR SCORES AS A FUNCTION OF AGE



From Grade 5 on the curve appears to tend toward a plateau, illustrating the fact that the acquisition of English slows down after Grade 5.

In the following paragraphs we will examine the breakdown of errors listed under the major categories (analysable, non-analysable, interference, intrasystemic, lexical and syntactic errors) and their variation as a function of the age of the subjects.

TABLE 4

COMPARISON OF ANALYSABLE AND NON-ANALYSABLE ERROR SCORES AS A FUNCTION OF AGE

GRADE	ANALYSABLE		NON-ANALYSABLE		TOTAL
	Number of errors	% in relation to No. of words uttered	No. of errors	%	
2	773	5.5	124	0.9	897
5	350	3.0	94	0.8	444
9	277	2.5	52	0.5	329
12	212	1.6	64	0.5	276
TOTAL	1,612		334		1,946
respective % of analysable & non-analysable errors	83%		17%		100%

One can note that the number of non-analysable errors is relatively small since it represents only 17% of the total errors. This leaves us a total of more than 1,600 errors for analysis and allows us to base our analysis, in a general way, on a significant sample, and, as a result, on a sound statistical basis.

TABLE 5

COMPARISON OF INTERFERENCE & INTRA-SYSTEMIC ERROR SCORES AS A FUNCTION OF AGE

GRADE	INTERFERENCE		INTRASYSTEMIC		TOTAL
	Number of errors	% in relation to No. of words uttered	No. of errors	%	
2	332	2.37	124	3.15	773
5	110	0.95	240	2.07	350
9	108	0.97	169	1.52	277
12	93	0.72	119	0.92	212
TOTAL	643	1.30	969	1.96	1.612
respective % of analysable & non-analysable errors	40%		60%		100%

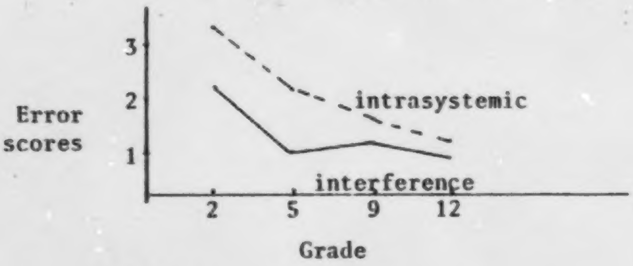
First of all it is interesting to note that a significant proportion of all analysable errors of our corpus (40%) is attributable to interference with French. This seems in a certain way, to contradict the findings of Dulay and Burt (1974b), according to which interference plays only a negligible role in errors made by young students of a second language. It must, however, be noted that the subjects studied by these authors were only beginning to learn a second language and had already acquired most of the structures of their own language.

In another way our results seem to agree with observations made by Naiman (1974) and those made by Selinker et al. (1974) concerning young anglophone pupils in French immersion classes, which show that the linguistic transfer from one's first language is an important source of error.

The variation of interference and intrasystematic error scores as a function of age can be shown graphically thus:

FIGURE 5

VARIATION OF INTERFERENCE AND INTRASYSTEMIC ERROR SCORES AS A FUNCTION OF AGE



This graph shows the steady decrease in intrasystemic errors with age. The trend of the curve suggests that this type of error is on its way out. This is confirmed by the confidence travel test which indicates that the four percentages of intrasystemic error differ significantly ($p < .01$). As for interference errors, they decrease quite sharply between the second and fifth grades. However, after the fifth grade they seem to stabilize. The confidence interval test shows, in fact, that the scores for Grades 5, 9, and 12, do not differ significantly ($p < .01$). A tendency toward fossilization[7] of this type of error can be seen. This phenomenon will later be studied in more detail.

TABLE 6

COMPARISON OF LEXICAL AND SYNTACTIC ERROR SCORES AS A FUNCTION OF AGE

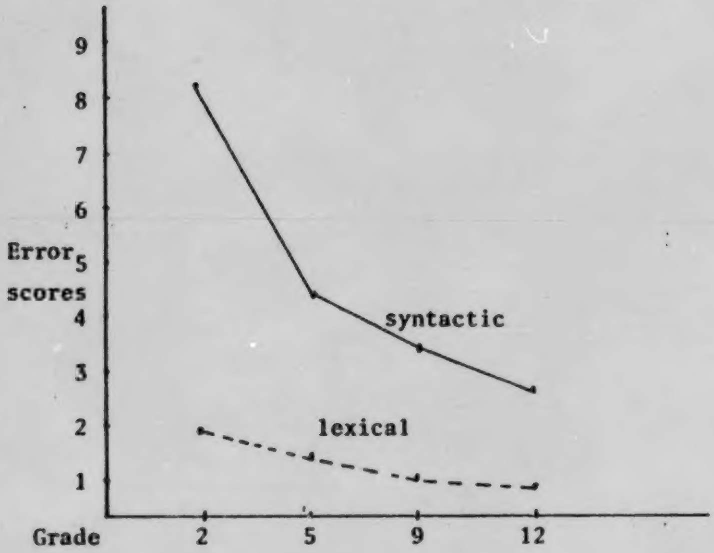
GRADE	LEXICAL			SYNTACTIC			TOTAL
	Number of errors	Estimation[8] of the total # of lexical items	%	Number of errors	Estimation[8] of the total # of syntactic items	%	
2	92	5700	1.6	681	8300	8.2	773
5	58	4800	1.2	292	6800	4.3	350
9	37	4500	0.8	240	6600	3.7	277
12	31	5300	0.6	181	7500	2.4	212
TOTAL	218	20300	1.1	1,384	29200	4.8	1,612
respective % of lex. & syntactic errors		14%		86%			100%

As we have indicated earlier, lexical errors relate to the meaning of substantives, adjectives and verbs. This relatively restricted definition of the term "lexical" explains in part the preponderance of syntactic errors (i.e. 86% on the average). It is to be noted that the proportion of syntactic and lexical does not change significantly with the age of the subjects.

There is, however, a sharp drop in the number of syntactic errors between Grades 2 and 5, whereas the number of lexical errors decrease at an even rate. The comparative evolution of lexical and syntactic errors can be represented on a graph.

FIGURE 6

VARIATION OF SCORES OF SYNTACTIC AND LEXICAL ERRORS AS A FUNCTION OF AGE



The sharp decline in the number of syntactic errors between Grades 2 and 5 is perhaps a result of the introduction of English in Grade 3, but it is also without doubt due to the acceleration of the processes of linguistic maturation. The fact that the acquisition of lexical items follows a steady pattern is perhaps due to the fact that unlike acquisition, it is not directly related to the development of logical operations.

Finally we will examine the respective proportion of interference and intrasystemic errors among lexical errors on the one hand and syntactic errors on the other.

TABLE 7

COMPARISON OF THE INTERFERENCE AND INTRASYSTEMIC ERROR SCORES AMONG LEXICAL ERRORS

GRADE	INTERFERENCE		INTRASYSTEMIC		TOTAL
	Number of errors	% in relation to total lexical items	Number of errors	% in relation to total lexical items	
2	42	0.74	50	0.88	92
5	11	0.23	47	0.98	58
9	10	0.22	27	0.60	37
12	10	0.19	21	0.39	31
TOTAL	73		145		218
respective % of interference & intrasystemic errors		33%	67%		100%

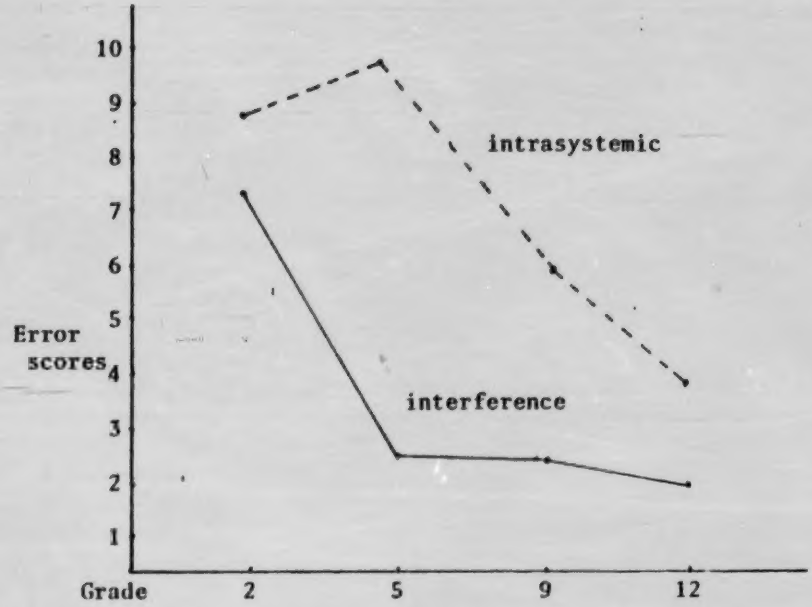
It will be observed, first of all, that 33% of lexical errors are related to interference while 67% are related to intrasystemic errors. We will see in the following table that 41% of syntactic errors are related to interference. This would seem to indicate that lexicon is somewhat less vulnerable to interference.

As regards lexical errors related to interference, one can see that they decrease significantly between Grade 2 and Grade 5 ($p < .01$). We have just seen that the same is applied to interference errors. However, after Grade 5, the decrease in the percentages of errors is no longer significant, as indicated by the confidence interval test ($p = .01$).

As for intrasystemic lexical errors, they decrease at a relatively steady rate with age, inasmuch as the percentage of errors of Grade 12 pupils differs significantly from these of Grade 2 and 5 pupils ($p < .01$). The evolution of the scores of lexical errors of interference and intrasystemic can be shown graphically thus:

FIGURE 7

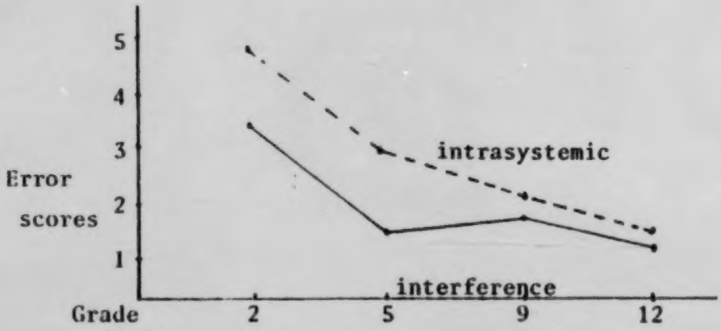
VARIATION OF THE SCORES OF INTERFERENCE AND INTRASYSTEMIC LEXICAL ERRORS AS A FUNCTION OF AGE



With regard to the respective average percentages of interference errors (41%) and intrasystemic ones (59%), we refer the reader to the comments on Table 5. The evolution of interference and intrasystemic syntactic errors is similar to that already found for all analysable errors (see Table 3). In fact, the confidence interval test (p< .01) indicated that interference syntactic errors decrease significantly between Grades 2 and 5 and stabilize thereafter. It also indicates that intrasystemic syntactic errors decrease at a steady rate. The four percentages of error differ significantly. The evolution of these two types of errors can be illustrated graphically.

FIGURE 8

VARIATION OF INTERFERENCE AND INTRASYSTEMIC SYNTACTIC ERRORS AS A FUNCTION OFAGE



We would like to draw attention to the principal results of our study. We have, first of all, shown that there is, in general, a decline in the number of errors with age; that is to say that there is a progressive acquisition of English with age. The rate of this acquisition is not constant since we have found that the number of errors decline faster between Grades 2 and 5 than between Grades 5 and 12. One can speak of a relative slowing-down of the acquisition of English after Grade 5. This is in part due to the fossilization of certain errors. However, it must be noted that at the Grade 12 level, students have, on the whole, attained a high level of mastery of English.

The comparative study of the evolution of interference and intrasystemic errors has shown, first of all, that interference accounts for 40% of all analysable errors, while the other errors (60%) are intrasystemic. In general, these two types of errors diminish with age. However, an examination of the graph of their evolution reveals that while intrasystemic errors decrease significantly and at a steady rate, interference errors decline rapidly between Grades 2 and 5, and then level off. This suggests the existence of a plateau of acquisition. It appears then that the slower acquisition after Grade 5, referred to earlier, must be, to a great extent, due to the fossilization of a certain number of interference errors.

The comparison of the evolution of lexical and syntactic errors has shown that there is, in general, a significant decrease with age, in the latter variety, which is particularly evident between Grades 2 and 5. As for lexical errors, they decreased much more slowly at a steady rate.

We have also shown that the phenomenon of fossilization of interference errors affects lexical errors more than syntactic errors, especially after Grade 5. As for intrasystemic lexical and intrasystemic syntactic errors, they decrease at a relatively steadier rate.

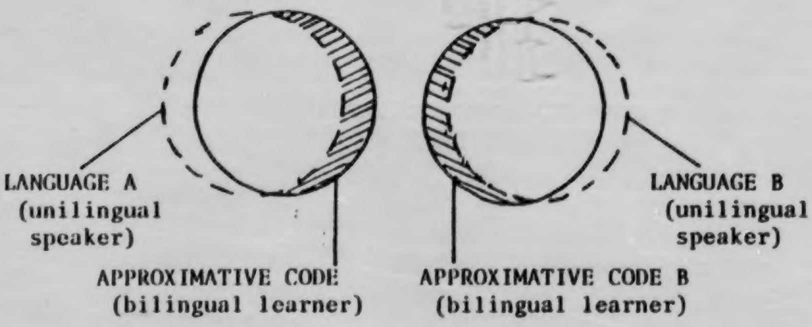
3. Theoretical conclusions

3.1 The approximative codes of a bilingual

After completing the study of the acquisition of English by our bilingual subjects we carried out a brief preliminary analysis of their French. It has been found to contain as many if not more errors than their English. As in the case of English the errors committed by our subjects in French were of two kinds: intrasystemic and interference ones.

This and the results of our study lead us to propose the following as a working hypothesis: that young bilinguals who are in the process of learning two languages are seemingly less competent in each of the languages in question than unilingual speakers of those languages of the same age. Put in other terms, we postulate that a bilingual speaker who is learning two languages has two approximate codes which resemble more or less the varieties of language spoken by unilinguals of the same age. We have seen that our bilingual subjects made both interference errors and intrasystemic errors. The approximate codes of a bilingual subject in the process of learning a language can be depicted diagrammatically.

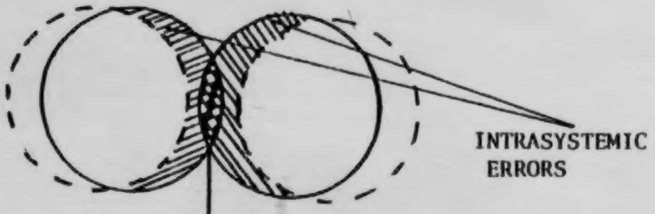
(a) Approximative codes of a bilingual learner


LANGUAGE A
(unilingual
speaker)
APPROXIMATIVE CODE
(bilingual learner)
APPROXIMATIVE CODE B
(bilingual learner)
LANGUAGE B
(unilingual
speaker)

The shaded areas represent the deviations (errors) relative to the norms for language A and language B as spoken by unilingual subjects of the same age.

The following diagram shows more precisely the approximative codes of bilingual subjects in the process of language acquisition and brings out the two main types of errors that we have focused on in our study[9].

(b) Approximative codes for a bilingual learner



The above diagram shows: the two approximative codes (heavy circles), the two languages as they are spoken by unilinguals (dotted circles), the errors which result from interference between the two approximative codes (intersection of the heavy circles) and the intrasystemic errors (shaded areas).

Returning to our working hypothesis, we can confidently assert that the interference errors made by the bilinguals would not have been made by unilingual speakers. This fact alone gives proof to our hypothesis concerning the existence of approximative codes in our bilinguals.

As for the intrasystemic errors, two questions can be asked:

(1) At a given age, do bilinguals make more intrasystemic errors than do unilinguals of the same age?

(2) At a given age, do bilinguals make the same type of errors as do unilinguals of the same age?

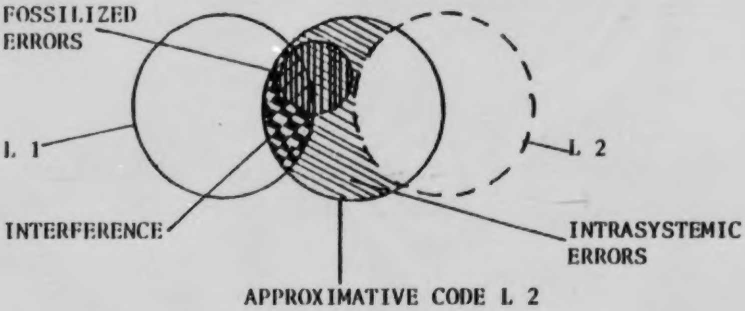
We hope to be able to answer these two questions after we have analysed the data concerning the English spoken by unilingual English Canadians of the same age.

3.2 Fossilization of errors

The fossilization of certain errors that we observed can be likened to the persistence of certain errors made by English-speaking students in a French total immersion class that was observed by Dumas, Selinker and Swain (1973), Naiman (1974), and Selinker, Dumas and Swain (1974). It can also be likened to the observations made by Mougeon (1973), who found that a certain number of residual traits (phonological, syntactic and lexical) continue to exist in the variety of English spoken by individuals of French extraction in the Gaspé who were assimilated into the English-speaking group and a majority of whom no longer speak French.

All these observations suggest that in the case of language acquisition in a total immersion environment as well as in natural context we are dealing with the same phenomenon. The following diagrams illustrate this.

(c) Immersion bilingualism



Amongst other things, diagram (c) indicates that persisting errors can be either interference errors or intrasystemic errors, in accordance with the observations made by Dumas, Selinker and Swain (1973), Naim (1974), and Selinker, Dumas and Swain (1974). The diagram also shows the difference that exists between the approximative code and the target language (L 2).

(d) Advanced bilingualism

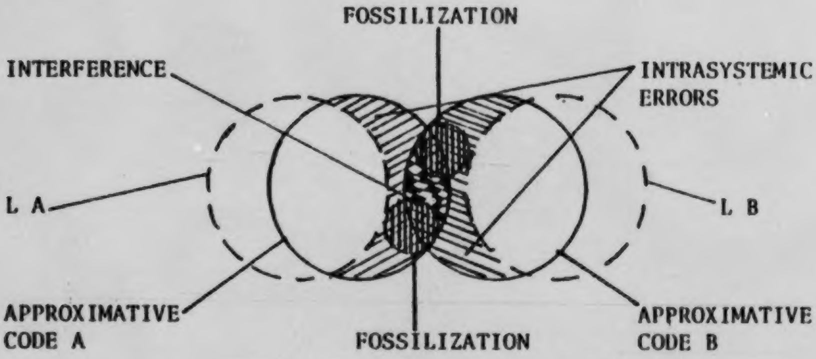
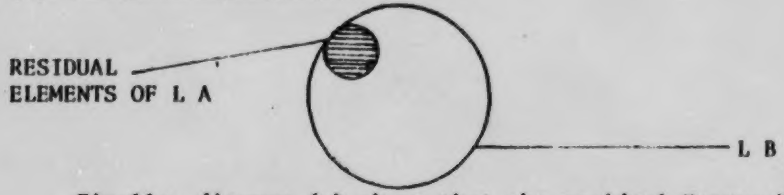

FOSSILIZATION
INTERFERENCE
INTRASYSTEMIC ERRORS
L A
L B
APPROXIMATIVE CODE A
FOSSILIZATION
APPROXIMATIVE CODE B

Diagram (d) is similar to diagram (b), page 127, but also shows the phenomenon of fossilization of errors which, in accordance with our results, especially affects interference errors. Moreover, it shows that fossilization involves both approximative codes (A) and (B), in line with our general hypothesis (see page ,). Since we are dealing with a case of advanced bilingualism, the difference between the approximative codes and the varieties of both languages (L A and L B) as spoken by unilinguals is obviously less important than in the case of the immersion class.

(e) Advanced assimilation


RESIDUAL ELEMENTS OF L A
L B

Finally, diagram (e) shows that the residual "errors" observed by Mougeon (1973) seem to be due above all to the influence of the lost language (L A) on the acquired language (L A).

As we have just seen, within the context of an immersion program, fossilization seems to affect intrasystemic errors as well as interference errors. In a natural comtext however, fossilization primarily affects interference errors. This is perhaps due to the fact that we are dealing with two types of learning of a different nature and that bilingualism of immersion class students is much less advanced than that found amongst the Welland young. In either case, advanced bilingualism can evolve towards a situation of advanced assimilation. Here again, one can ascertain that fossilization occurs with interference errors. Whatever the case, what stands out is the fact that fossilization is a general phenomenon which characterizes linguistic learning both in circumstances of an immersion program as well as in a natural situation. We hope that other research will provide additional data to further advance the study of this question.

NOTES

[1] In a situation like the one we are dealing with, it is difficult to say with certainty whether the children have English or French as their first language. It appears that they acquire the two languages almost simultaneously.

[2] We have excluded one subject because of poor sound quality of his interview.

[3] Such data have been gathered now, using the same interview questionnaire that was used for our bilingual subjects. These data will be analysed and will provide us with a different and perhaps more objective basis of comparison which can be used for an assessment of our bilingual subjects' abilities in English.

[4] W : Welland
2 - 5 - 9 - 12 : 2nd, 5th, 9th & 12th grades.

[5] In a larger report for the Ontario French language school teachers (Mougeon & Hébrard, 1975 (b)) the errors of our subjects are examined in greater detail. Notably, all the errors listed in the appendix of this study are analysed separately, with special attention given to their numerical variation as a function of the age of the students. In the larger report, the variation of the number of errors is also studied as a function of the socioeconomic background, the sex, and the reported usage of English and French by the subjects.

[6] We have done our count on the basis of the typewritten transcriptions. Each group of letters were counted as one word, with the exception of interjections indicating hesitation (uh...), surprise (oh...) etc.

[7] This term has been proposed by Selinker (1972).

[8] These estimations have been calculated on the basis of a subsample of interviews, the number of interviews used being

determined by the frequency of the linguistic item in question. For the items whose frequency varies with the age of the subjects, we have calculated separate estimations for each age group.

[9] Our conception of approximate codes approaches Selinker's notion of interlanguage (Selinker 1972). We have extended this idea to include the simultaneous learning of two languages.

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APPENDIX A

Interview Questions

1. Personal History

1.1 Birthplace of interviewee

1.2 How long has he been living in Welland

1.3 Date of birth

1.4 Birthplace of interviewee's parents

1.5 In what school(s) (name and place) did the interviewee study?

1.6 In what language(s) was the interviewee educated in at this (these) school(s)? (answer by school)

2. Personal Interests and Family and Social Relations Leisure Activities

2.1 What do you do after school in the afternoons and in the evenings?

2.2 What do you do on weekends?

2.3 How did you spend your last summer vacation? What was the best thing that happened to you last summer? Tell me a bit about it.

2.4 What are you going to do this summer for vacation?

2.5 Do you read books? (If so, what kind?)

2.6 Do you go to the movies? What kind of films do you like best?

2.7 What kind of T.V. programs do you like best?

2.8 What are your favourite sports, games, etc?

2.9 When and where do you practise-play?

2.10 Do you remember the time in your life that you were most fightened? Tell me about it.

2.11 If you had more free time everyday (2 or 3 extra hours) what would you do with it?

2.12 If you could travel abroad, where would you go, why would you go there, and what would you do there?

The Future

2.13 Do you know what kind of job you want to have later in life?

2.14 If yes, which job? Why?

2.15 Do you think you will stay in Welland, or will you leave the city later on? Why?

School

2.16 Is there any subject you like best at school? Which one? Why?

2.17 How do the teachers and students get along together at school?

2.18 Can you recall a good trick played on the teacher by the kids in your class, either this year or in previous years?

Relationship with Parents

2.19 Many young people don't seem to get along well with their parents. Why do you think this is the case?

2.20 Do you think it's because parents don't give their kids enough freedom?

2.21 Or is it because kids don't talk enough with their parents?

Relationship with Peers

2.22 What subjects do you talk about with kids your own age?

3. Language Proficiency and Usage

3.1 Do you understand English poorly? average? well? very well?

3.2 Do you read English poorly? average? well? very well?

3.3 Do you speak English poorly? average? well? very well?

3.4 Do you write English poorly? average? well? very well?

3.5 Do you understand French better than English?

3.6 Do you read French better than English?

3.7 Do you speak French better than English?

3.8 Do you write French better than English?

3.9 Do you listen to French radio at home? If yes, all the time? often? every now and then? rarely?

3.10 If so, what radio programs do you like best? Why?

3.11 Do the other members of the family listen to French radio?

3.12 Do you watch channel 25 at home? (French channel) If yes, all the time? often? every now and then? rarely?

3.13 What are your favorite programs? Do you watch hockey in French?

3.14 Does your mother speak French?

3.15 Does your father speak French?

3.16 In what language does your father speak to you most often, French or English?

3.17 In what language do you speak most often to your father, French or English?

3.18 In what language does you mother speak to you most often, French or English?

3.19 In what language do you speak most often to your mother, French or English?

3.20 Do you have brothers and sisters? How many?

3.21 In what language do you speak to them, French or English?

3.22 In what language do you speak to your friends when you're at home? If you use both languages, which one do you use most?

3.23 In what language do you speak to your friends when you're not at home, French or English? If you use both languages, which one do you use most?

4. Language Attitudes

4.1 Why do you think the majority of francophones in Welland are bilingual?

4.2 Why do you think the majority of anglophones in Welland are not bilingual?

4.3 Is it possible to find work in Welland if you speak only French?

4.4 Why, in your opinion, are the signs in the stores in Welland written in English?

4.5 When you want to approach a stranger in Welland, do you speak to him in French?

4.6 It seems that in Welland, young francophones often speak English when they're together. Why, in your opinion? What do you think about that?

4.7 Do you think English is taught effectively at school? Explain your answer.

4.8 Do you think French is taught effectively at school? Explain your answer.

6.2 Entrevue avec les élèves de 2e et 52 année

1. Have the child read the reading passage at the beginning of the interview.
2. Use the reading passage as a basis for conversation (e.g., would you like to go for a ride on a big truck? Why? would you like to go for a ride on a plane? Why? etc.)
3. Interview topics for 2nd and 5th grade children (modified version of series 2).

- What television programs do you like best?
- What subjects do you like best at school?
- What do you do at home after school?
- What do you do on the weekend?
- What did you do during the last winter vacation?
- What did you do during the last summer vacation?
- What are you planning to do (or what would you like to do) during this coming summer?
- What games do you like to play best at home?
- What games do you like to play best away from home?
- Are there any boys and girls in your class that you don't like? Why?
- Are there any boys and girls that you really like? Why?

Grade 2 Interview Questions

1. Tell me what you did during your Christmas holidays? Whom did you visit? What gifts did you receive?

2. Which season do you prefer, (like best)? Why do you like it?

3. Would you like to win a lot of money? (lots of) What would you do with it? Would you give some away?

4. Tell me about your family. What does you father do, and you mother? (also brother/sister/friend)

5. Tell me the story of Snow-White; Little Red Riding Hood; The Three Little Pigs, The Three Bears

6. Have you ever been to the zoo? What did you see? Which animal do you like best? Why?

7. Do you watch TV? Which programs do you enjoy watching?

8. Which are your favorite games? Do you like to play alone or in a group?

9. What would you like to be when you grow up?

10. If you were a teacher what things would you do differently from (than) what your teacher does? What would you change in the class?

Grade 5 Interview Questions

1. Tell me about a trip you've been on.

2. What would you do if you were (found yourself) alone on the moon?

3. How would you spend a million dollars? / What would you

do if you had a million dollars?

4. Have you ever been really frightened? What caused it?

5. Tell me about a hunting trip. A visit you have gone on with your class (classmates).

6. Have you ever gone fishing? (Have you ever been on a fishing trip?)

7. Tell me about a film which impressed you. Who is your favourite filmstar? (actor)

8. Have you ever had a bad dream? Tell me about it.

9. Have you ever seen a fire, an accident. Tell me about it.

10. Which are your favourite sports? Why do you like them (it)? Where do you play? With whom do you play?

11. Which is your favourite TV program? Why do you like it?

12. Tell me something about your family. Where does your father work? your mother? your brothers and sisters; some funny things they do.

13. What would you like to be when you grow up? Why?

APPENDIX B

Subcategories of intrasystemic errors

1. Structural constraints

    - errors related to the place of the adverb
    - errors related to the place of prepositions

2. Grammatical units

    - errors related to articles
      quantifiers
      possessive adjectives
      demonstrative adjectives
      number of substantives
      personal pronouns
      demonstrative pronouns
      possessive case
      simple present
      simple past
      present perfect
      progressive tenses
      conditional
      past participle
      infinitive
      third person singular marker
      conjugation of "got"
      negative concord
      prepositions

conjunctions
relative pronouns
adverbs

SEMANTIC COMPOUNDING IN THE SPEECH OF MEXICAN-AMERICAN BILINGUALS: A REEXAMINATION OF THE COMPOUND-COORDINATE DISTINCTION

Rodolfo Jacobson

SEMANTIC COMPOUNDING IN THE SPEECH OF MEXICAN-AMERICAN BILINGUALS:

A REEXAMINATION OF THE COMPOUND-COORDINATE DISTINCTION

Rodolfo Jacobson, Ph.D.

0. In the attempt of accounting for different degrees of lexicosemantic convergence, Uriel Weinreich, and Lev Ščerba before him, proposed the notions "coordinate bilingualism" and "compound bilingualism" in order to identify two different sets of behavior with respect to the language use of speakers proficient in two languages. Discussions on this topic have been appearing in the professional literature for over 2 decades although they subsided somewhat during the last five years. A recent, still unpublished version on the same topic, however, has recently come to my attention and this fact seems to indicate that the issue is still very much in the minds of present-day scholars. Douglas Shaffer (1974) finds the notions somewhat questionable--as had MacNamara before him--not because of epistomological reasons but because of the fact that the data that led to the distinction in the first place did not justify its validity. The renewed interest in the topic has prompted the author to reexamine this issue but with specific attention to the extent to which it is relevant to Spanish-English speaking bilinguals in the Southwest.

In view of the above, the author thought that it would have been a worthwhile project to investigate "semantic compounding" among different groups of bilinguals: bilinguals who have acquired English (1) in settings removed from their native settings; (2) in settings somewhat different from their vernacular environment--such as children who acquire English in school but speak Spanish at home--; (3) in settings where both language co-exist in a somewhat random fashion. However, the broadness of the objective soon became evident and the author was compelled to limit the topic to dealing only--at least for this presentation--with speakers living in a single geographic area, i.e. San Antonio, Texas. Some of the speakers investigated in this project might have acquired their two languages in a stable, and others in a fluid bilingual situation but no attempt was made here to keep the two means of acquisition separate from one another.

The objective of the present paper is then twofold: to delve into the more theoretical issue of the kinds of bilingual functioning and to report on the results of an experiment exploratory in nature, in which a number of questionnaires and assignments were given to a random selection of UTSA students, most of them either Anglo-Americans or Mexican-Americans, but also a few other ethnic groups. It is hoped that the results will shed some light, not only on the theoretical issue that is here discussed but also on the bilingual students per se that make up our undergraduate as well as graduate school populations. Finally, some thoughts will be devoted to the implications that the situation found at UTSA may hold for the assessment of an acculturation index for the Southwest Chicano. These issues will be discussed in three sections, i.e. (1) The Compound-Coordinate dimension, (2) Acquisitional and Societal patterns (3) Description and Analysis of the data collected among San Antonio bilinguals. I shall conclude the paper by attempting a tentative evaluation of South Texas bilinguality and biculturality.

(1) The Compound-Coordinate Dimension

The first scholar to suggest that, instead of treating two equivalent words as two separate signs, one might regard them as a single sign was Lev Ščerba, who in 1945 had completed an extensive study on Sorbian-German bilingualism. Scerba reported in his study *"Sur la notion de mêlange des langues"* that "the bilingual Sorbians, have only one language with two modes of expression" (Shaffer, 1974:2); in other words, they possess in Saussurian terms, one set of signifieds for two different signifiers (Weinreich, 1968:9). Weinreich who credited Scerba with this distinction, finds it to be a useful one but without actually either affirming nor denying the validity of the notion; rather, he calls for further investigation to determine how realistic and how applicable this distinction actually is. As Shaffer (1974:1) has shown in his paper, it was the shortcoming, not of Weinreich, but of later investigators to take the former's view for an established fact rather than an invitation for further research.

The notions of compound and coordinate systesms was investigated again in 1954 when Susan Ervin-Tripp and Charles Osgood studied second language learning and bilingualism. A comparison between the Ščerba-Weinreich view and that of Ervin-Tripp--Osgood shows an interesting difference in emphasis. Ščerba--Weinreich seek to explain the compound system by taking the coordinate dimension for granted, wheras Ervin-Tripp--Osgood adopt the opposite strategy. In effect, the latter (1973:16) argue that

> Perhaps because of dependence on the model provided by second language learning in school situations, many writers seem to have assumed that meanings are constant in second language learning and in bilingualism.

In other words, for Ščerba--Weinreich the coordinate view is the self-explanatory one and it is the compound view that emerges from the Sorbian study. Conversely, for Ervin-Tripp--Osgood the compound view is the basic view and it is the coordinate dimension that requires the investigator's special attention. The change of emphasis is interesting in that it points to two different kinds of awareness. The earlier investigators are trying to cope with cultural convergence in spite of linguistic divergence, whereas the later ones are suggesting that cultural convergence does not necessarily occur, even though the society may have assumed otherwise.

In Ervin-Tripp--Osgood, moreover, the compound dimension undergoes a more subtle study in that the authors are characterizing the development as (1) typical of learning a foreign language in the school situation and (2) characteristic of bilingualism acquired by a child who grows up in a home where two languages are spoken more or less interchangeably by the same people and in the same situation (Ervin-Tripp, 1973:16). Furthermore, the authors recognize also within the coordinate dimension, two developments, (1) that of the person who has learned for example to speak one language with his parents and the other language in school and at work and (2) that of the second language learner, who relying as little as possible on translation and immersing himself in the living culture of another language community comes to speak a second tongue well (Ervin-Tripp, 1973:17). It is this latter dimension that the authors describe as "true" bilinguality but the meaning of _true_, in quotes, is never explained, and this author has difficulty in sharing their view that this kind of bilingual versatility is any more "true" than the other kind, neither _per se_ nor in the opinion of others.

Wallace Lambert (1972:304) dissatisfied with some of the results that he obtained in experiments dealing with the compound-coordinate dimensionality, which showed "no differences between compounds and coordinates", begins then to search for "a procedure that would present the bilingual with a conflict wherein both of his languages could be simultaneously brought into play (Lambert, 1972:305). The Stroop Test developed in 1935 by J. R. Stroop and M. S. Preston (Stroop, 1935:643-61) provides such a strategy and this allows Wallace Lambert and his associates to simplify the definitions of compound and coordinate bilingual arguing that

> compound bilinguals were (defined as)those brought up in a thoroughly bilingual home

> environment from infancy on, while coordinates were those who had learned their second language at some time after infancy, usually after ten years of age and usually in a setting other than the family.

Macnamara (Alatis, 1970:28-29) addresses himself to this very question and criticizes "the man whose lead I (Macnamara) have long followed in the study of bilingualism: for adding, with the proposed simplification of the compound and coordinate systems, somewhat to the confusion which surrounds the distinction between the two. On the other hand, Macnamara looks equally sceptical upon the Ervin-Tripp--Osgood's arguments which, he argues, are based upon the Sapir--Whorf hypothesis of linguistic/cultural relativity for the distinction between the two types of bilinguals. Macnamara's own view in this respect stresses semantic interference and not cultural relativity and capitalizes on what he calls 'denotational content.' His examples from Irish and French show that words may have either a wider (Irish *lamh* [hand & arm] vs. English hand) or a narrower (English cut vs. French couper [cut & carve]) denotational extension. To the extent that such denotational differences exist between languages, Macnamara agrees with the notion of coordinateness. This view reduces however coordinateness to a limited number of examples of lexico-semantic divergence that make the usefulness of the distinction somewhat questionable.

Roughly simultaneous with John Macnamara's paper on "Bilingualism and Thought," is Leon A. Jakobovits' study entitled "Dimensionality of Compound-Coordinate Bilingualism" in which the latter brings to bear the issue upon 3 factors, i.e., language acquisition context and usage, attitudinal and motivational variables and cross-cultural distinctiveness. His treatment of the cross-cultural perspective lacks deeper insight but the concern for attitudinal and motivational variables is to the point because he emphasizes the fact that the compound-coordinate distinction cannot be considered effectively within the restricted framework of a semanto-lexical approach. The social psychological perspective that was only weakly stressed in Lambert's article--not because of his lack of expertise but as a result of the stated objective of the study in question--is emphasized in Jakobovits' work where he applies some of Lambert's own findings concerning ethnocentrism and instrumental/integrative motivation. Jakobovits succeeds hereby to make the distinction between the two kinds of bilinguals more psycholinguistically relevant. "High ethnocentrism", says Jakobovits, "coupled with an instrumental orientation are psychological factors which promote compound bilingualism," whereas "coordinateness will be promoted by moderate levels of ethnocentrism and bi-directional tendencies in orientation." On the other hand, the opposite of the highly ethnocentric, instrumentally oriented student would also promote compoundness as he leaves his vernacular culture behind to integrate into the foreign culture (Jakobovits, 1968:40). We are here concerned with a dynamic rather than static statement of the compound-coordinate dimensionality, one that applies to individuals in the process of becoming rather than at the stage of being bilinguals, an emphasis appropriate for the psychologically-oriented but not for the merely linguistically-geared investigator. This differential orientation seems to parallel the development in other areas of language study where the scholarly interest does also abandon the merely linguistic type in favor of a more interdisciplinary type of investigation.

As pointed out earlier, the latest attempt to deal with the topic is a brief unpublished draft by Douglas Shaffer entitled "Is Bilingualism Compound or Coordinate?" Shaffer does not produce any far-reaching evidence to respond to his own query but encourages us to give compoundness and coordinateness a second look in order to determine whether or not the distinction is a useful one and whether actual facts support it, since all earlier research had been unable to offer valid supporting evidence. As a matter of fact, Shaffer reminds us that Haugen had already pointed out in 1973 that

> Weinreich had merely posited a compound-coordinate distinction and called for empirical investigation...yet psycholinguistis accepted Weinreich's hypothesis without examining his data closely and even proceeded to develop a rather sharp dichotomy between both types. (Haugen 1973:10)

Therefore, if we accept Haugen's and Shaffer's positions, it becomes difficult for us to assign a given speaker to either one or the other type of bilinguality. To summarize, the literature is far from being in agreement about the usefulness of the distinction and, at best, we have advanced very little from Weinreich's position and must, like a blind man return whence we came to start anew.

Before we leave this section, it may be in order to give a last look at the arguments that some expressed in favor of and others against the compound-coordinate dimensionality. The discussions in Weinreich (1968) and Ervin-Tripp--Osgood (1973) lend reasonable support to the notion under consideration here. Of these scholars, it is primarily the latter who advances a more detailed view with regard to the emphasis that the research on this topic should take and to the situations to which the distinction should apply. The scholars who research the topic later all seem to harbor serious reservations but they never deny completely the usefulness of the concept. To redirect the research over safer grounds, the aforementioned investigators recommend a less Whorfian approach and a more semantic denotational perspective /‾Macnamara_7 we well as a more psycholinguistically-geared orientation /‾Jakobovits_7. Recent studies in the Southwest have also attempted to reexamine this issue but in light of regional bilingualism. As a matter of fact several scholars--and I will not go here into the issue at any depth--do share the position that the distinction per se is a worthwhile one and that it is indeed realistic to build upon it an edifice of areal investigations. Peñalosa and Ornstein have both expressed themselves along these lines and I am sharing their views, but only if some new ideas can be incorporated to render the compound-coordinate dimensionality not only psycholinguistically but also sociolinguistically relevant. "The compound-coordinate distinction," says Peñalosa (Hernandez-Chavez, 1975:165)

> is a useful one. Compound bilinguals are those who learned both languages in a bilingual home or neighborhood or one language through the medium of another, hence have fused two meaning systems; coordinate bilinguals, having learned their two languages in different contexts, have somewhat different meanings for corresponding words in the two languages.

Applying this distinction to the Chicano, Peñalosa (Hernandez-Chavez, 1974:165-66) speculates that

> the compound bilingual Chicano child might miss some of the subtleties of the English used in his school while the coordinate bilingual might avoid this type of difficulty.

Ornstein (Ewton and Ornstein, 1970:138-39) also supports the distinction and without any reservation although he does not provide any in-depth analysis of the issue.

The fact that no detailed discussion of nor any objection to the notions has recently been offered seems to indicate that the compound-coordinate distinction is indeed a valid one and lends itself to reassess some aspects of South West bilingualism. On the other hand, before fully establishing its usefulness for the Southwestern U. S., the author believes that there are at least two aspects of the compound-coordinate dimensionality that have either not been fully clarified or been omitted altogether: (1) What is actually the extent to which a bilingual belongs to one or the other type? This point is also argued by Weinreich when he warns us not to use these notions as an either-or distinction and suggests that even certain lexical items, when used by the bilingual, reflect compoundness and others, coordinateness. Jakobovits too, is aware of the danger of strict bipolarity and correlates the degree of compoundness or coordinateness with the degree of second language acquisition but makes the latter contingent upon attitudinal factors, such as integrative and instrumental motivation as well as ethnocentrism. I share Jakobovits' concern in this respect but have my doubts as to whether the psycholinguistic perspective alone can solve the problem. This brings me to the second aspect (2) that needs to be considered, i.e. What relationship, if any, is there between compoundness and coordinatesness on one hand and the constitution of the society in which the bilingual operates? I am calling here your attention to some sort of spectrum of bilinguality that extends from total compoundness at one extreme to total coordinateness at the other, somewhat along the lines of the dialect continuum proposed in the sociolectological research of DeCamp (1971) Stewart (1967) and Jacobson (1975). In addition, I wish to correlate at the same time the position that the bilingual occupies in a given social situation on such a spectrum with his degree of acculturation into the dominant society. This would bring Peñalosa's words into a more realistic perspective when he argues that

> there appears to be a general tendency for coordinate bilingualism to shift to compound

> bilingualism, although formal education can help to keep the two semantic systems distinct if only one language is used at a time (Hernandez-Chavez, 1975:166).

The dynamics of bilingual competence can thus be explored, not from the vantage point of the individual alone as Jakobovits has done, but from that of the speech community in which the bilingual finds himself embedded.

(2) Acquisitional and Societal patterns

Three assumptions have been made or at least implied above, i.e. (1) bilinguals may be classified as compound or coordinate bilinguals but even within the same type of bilinguality speakers differ from one another by degree; (2) specific lexical items as they are used by bilingual speakers may also reflect compoundness or coordinateness; and (3) compoundness and coordinateness seem both to correlate with the interactional norms that have been adopted by the bilingual members of a speech community. The first assumption implies that two coordinate bilinguals may in effect differ greatly from one another but when both are compared to the compound bilingual they do display a number of common features. Second, the compoundness of a word when it is used by a bilingual may have some effect on the degree of compoundness, or coordinateness for that matter, of a given speaker but is not a result of the type of bilinguality of the speaker as such. Thirdly, speakers whose behavioral patterns exhibit a high degree of ethnic segregation tend to be coordinate and those whose patterns show acculturation tend to be compound speakers. Let me illustrate these assumptions somewhat further and justify hereby the project that I expect to describe in the final portion of this paper.

The mental images underlying certain lexical items differ to the extent to which speakers have established different associative networks. Here, I am not talking about the semantic differences that Macnamara mentions when he discusses the contrastive pair English *hand* and Irish *lamh* (see above) nor about his criticism of Ervin-Tripp and Osgood's view to the effect that their distinction was Whorfian.[1] Rather, I am referring here to the fact that when a lexical item is learned, the learner is dependent upon his immediate environment in order to grasp the meaning of a given word. The first four items in one of the questionnaires used in this project are *breakfast*, *christmas*, *fruit*, *food* (see below). It seems reasonable to assume that to a speaker of English, say, in Detroit, Michigan, a quite different image comes to his mind when he uses--receptively or productively--these words from the image that imposes itself on a speaker of Spanish, say, in Panama-City.[2] A typical American breakfast is likely to include items such as toast, pancakes, eggs, jam but not plantains ("patacones")[3], steak ("biftec"), turnovers ("empanadas"), fried yucca ("Carimañola').[4] Hence, the word breakfast is likely to evoke in the former a set of images quite different from those of the latter. Similar contrasting sets may apply to two stereotyped speakers with regard to *Christmas*, *fruit* and *food*, e.g.

	American stereotype	Panamanian stereotype
Christmas	tree, lights, winter, landscape	crib, nativity
Fruit	apples, peaches, pears, grapes	mangoes, pineapples, bananas
Food	hamburgers, steak, fries	tamales, bollos[5], chicken & rice

It is now conceivable that the English-speaking American when he acquires Spanish and thus becomes an English-Spanish bilingual associates one set of terms with the English lexeme and the other set with the Spanish lexeme. By the same token, the Spanish-speaking Panamanian as he acquires English and becomes bilingual is likely to associate the Panamanian images of *nacimiento*, *mangoes* and *tamales* with *Navidades*, *frutas* and *alimento* and the

American images of tree, apples and hamburgers with Christmas, fruit and food. We have here two instances of coordinate bilingualism par excellence. On the other hand, a situation may arise (e.g., a Panamanian reared in the Canal Zone) whereby the images undergo semantic compounding as a result of a random alternation between such images such that the following overlap might occur:

Lexemes	Bicultural convergence
Breakfast/Desayuno	toast, steak, turnovers
Christmas/Navidades	tree, crib
Fruit/Fruta	apples, mangoes
Food/Alimento	hamburger, tamales

Such an instance of bicultural convergence would be characteristic for the compound bilingual who operates with a single set of "signifieds" but may either turn on the switch that triggers English signifiers or the one that puts into motion the Spanish lexemes.

The consistent occurrence of cases like these may be unusual, not only because of the human factor at play but also because of a potential interrelationship between the lexical item on one hand and the social situation in which that item occurs. It is therefore also conceivable that the American bilingual when invited to a Christmas party at a Panamanian home associates the Panamanian set of images with the English lexeme and the Panamanian bilingual associates the American set of images when he uses the word "Navidades" in connection with an invitation to an American home. These fluctuations that are brought about by the social situation in which, or with respect to which, a given lexical item may be used must also be considered when the index of the compound-coordinate dimensionality of an individual is to be assessed.

Finally, the likelihood for a person to qualify as one who positions himself/herself on the compound end or on the coordinate end of the continuum depends to no small degree upon the nature of the bilingual behavior of the group in which he/she operates. The group behaviors of bilinguals in their most extreme form may be two. The behavior of group A may be found to be diglossic, that is, the use of the two language is so distributed that each speaker of the community under study can determine the appropriateness of one or the other in a given situation. Joshua Fishman and his associates have discussed this kind of mutual consensus of the speakers and referred to the correlation between language and social institution as domain. The presence of domains of this sort correlates closely with coordinateness, since the speaker is able to control the separation of the two languages by restricting the use of one to certain domains and that of the other to others. When this occurs, it is likely for the bilingual to operate in agreement with certain underlying mental images when he/she functions within the domains that require his vernacular language and, in agreement with others within the domains that trigger the use of the second language. The behavior of group B, conversely, may be one of random bilingualism. There is no consensus as to when one language is appropriate and when the other. Both languages occur in the same situation, and language mixture is frequent. Fishman has shown that such a situation is prone to lead to the loss of the non-dominant language. Compound bilinguals are most likely to fit into the behavioral pattern that I have just described, since the system that operates with a simple set of semantemes but two different sets of lexemes lends itself most effectively to the randomness of language choice and the mixing of codes. If we now consider the two groups, A and B, from the vantage point of culture integration, we find group B highly acculturated to the dominant society with little concern for the fact that whichever language its members use, they exhibit a unique system in which the sounds, the grammar and the meaning have coalesced to constitute a single but broader total inventory of linguistic features. Group A is less acculturated, or perhaps not acculturated at all, despite their ability to function well in the second environment. Lambert has referred facetiously to bilinguals of the kind as "linguistic spoies" and Jakobovits has called them, "linguistic schizophrenics" because of their ability to function equally well in the two. To conclude, it seems reasonable to assume that, when we compare the two types of bilinguals, that have been identified in the professional literature, to the societies of which these bilinguals are members, there is a direct correlation between

(1) compound bilinguals--non-diglossic societies-acculturation, and
(2) coordinate bilinguals--diglossic societies-cultural divergence.

To determine the extent to which Mexican-Americans may be considered coordinate or compound bilinguals, this investigator has administered a series of exploratory instruments or tests to a number of university students enrolled in the divisions of Bicultural-Bilingual Studies, Foreign Languages and Education at the University of Texas at San Antonio. The design of the project has been limited to two aspects, (1) The identification of the mental images that underlie a set of words which lend themselves to differential treatments depending on which culture group uses them; (2) The occurrence of semantic compounding as evidenced in the use of deceptive or false cognates. Although Anglo and other Americans have responded to the questionnaires, they have merely served as control groups and the emphasis has been on the Mexican-American in the expectation that some progress could be made to explore which his place on the compound-coordinate continuum is and also what his degree of acculturation is. The two aspects here examined obviously fall short of providing the total picture of the Mexican-American minority and more research should be undertaken to also include individuals outside the college population. This project, therefore represents only a beginning, and exploratory at that, in the field of semantic testing.

(3) Description and Analysis of the Data

Before actually undertaking the description of the experiment, the author wishes to stress, once more, that the administration of the instruments and therefore also the results which these have produced are only exploratory in nature. A more rigorous procedure of selecting the informants as well as of designing the instruments shall be contemplated in the future. Obviously, some funding must be ensured to allow for a broader and a more systematic coverage. Despite its limitations, the experiment has shown that (1) the answers sought are worth investigating and (2) the results obtained show a trend of development whose knowledge could be crucial to assess the degree of compoundness and acculturation of the Chicano and may serve the purpose of recommending strategies to determine and/or suggest the type of culture and language planning that would hold a promise for the Southwest.

Subjects

I approached several of my colleagues at the University of Texas at San Antonio to familarize them with the kind of information that I needed and asked them to administer a set of four questionnaires and/or tests to a small number or their own students. Professors of the divisions of Bicultural-Bilingual Studies, Education and Foreign Languages assisted me in this task and, at the same time, I also administered these instruments to my own students. The students completed, depending upon the instrument that was administered, between 50 and 70 of each of the questionnaires. These informants, who had been chosen at random, were upper division undergraduates or graduate students seeking a Master of Arts degree. To identify their ethnic and socio-economic background, their age and their sex, I requested them to supply me with the necessary demographic information. As for the ethnic background of the subjects, very few fell into a category other than Anglo-American or Mexican-American and I was able to assign them to one single group labeled "others". Sex was well balanced as an identical number of males and females responded to the questionnaires. The socio-economic ratio was inclined toward the more affluent and over 62% of the informants indicated that they earned $10,000 per year or more. This was no surprise because more graduate than undergraduate students answered the questionnaires due to the fact that UTSA has, at the present time, a stronger graduate than undergraduate population. Finally, 45% of the subject were 25 years old, 19% were 20 years old, 13% were 30 years old and 23% were 35 or over, all together yielding an average of approximately 26 years.

Instruments

I designed four instruments: (1) to identify the mental images that underlie certain lexemes--those that come most readily to the mind of the speaker--and (2) to investigate the extent to which the semantemes of deceptive cognates show instances of semantic compounding in favor of English rather than Spanish denotations. In the first one of the instruments, I listed 20 words with three choices for each and instructed the subjects to encircle or underline the choice that they would think of first. Although the instrument was not entirely free of ambiguities--I am presently in the process of developing a new version of the questionnaire--it did clearly suggest that the Anglo-American favored certain responses and the Mexican-American others. A choice of all the items characteristic for one or the other group was not expected, since 100% of the predictability would have suggested that ethnic stereotypes are real; rather, it was expected that subjects would vary to the extent that they did or did not approach the stereotype. The responses would then allow the investigator to distribute the informants alond a continuum of ethnic typicality.

The second instrument administered was a questionnaire containing 79 statements, of which 35 were in English and 44 in Spanish. Each such statemtne included a choice of two expressions of which one lent itself to being selected because of its similarity to, but not identity with a word in the other language, e.g.,

> #4 The (ANCIENT/OLD) Romans were outstanding lawmakers.
>
> #40 Esta/Este (GROSERIA/ABARROTE)se vende en los supermercados.

Subjects were tested here whether, in spite of the similarity between ancient and anciano or groseria and grocery, they would make the appropirate choice.

The third and fourth instruments were translation exercises; the former, a Spanish text consisting of seven sentences to be translated into English; the latter, an English text of equal length to be translated to Spanish. Both translation exercises contained deceptive cognates in order to test the subjects whether, because of the similarity of words like soportar and support or ignorar and ignore, they would actually suggest translation as, e.g.,

> She does not support her parents (Ella no soporta a sus parientes)
>
> El ignoró la pregunta que el maestro del colegio le habia hecho (He ignored the question that the college teacher had asked him)

My assumption here was that the use of the wrong word would show semantic compounding rather than other-language interference to the extent that the verb soportar in Spanish had actually acquired for the speaker the meaning of support and the verb ignorar would show the same kind of semantic convergence with ignore.

Three of the instruments were based on English-Spanish deceptive cognates that the graduate student Hiram Duffer had researched and listed in a paper written for Dr. Charpenel. I am grateful to the latter for letting me see his student's work. Although three of the questionnaires were based on these word lists, there was actually no duplication because Instrument 2 tested receptive and instruments 3 and 4 productive competence. Instruments 3 and 4, furthermore, differed in that the former tested semantic compounding when informants shifted from Spanish to English and the latter tested the reverse.

Results

The results of administering the questionnaire designed to measure the individual's proximity to his own ethnic stereotype revealed the following (cf. Figure 1):

(1) Although none of the respondents reached his own stereotype, Anglo-Americans approximated it far more than did Mexican-Americans;
(2) The highest concentration of Anglo-Americans was found at the 80% mark of the stereotype, whereas the highest concentration of Mexican-Americans was found at the 45% mark;
(3) Among Anglo-Americans there was only one single peak of concentration that was surprisingly steep and reasonably high; in contrast, Mexican-Americans displayed two lower peaks, one at the 30% and the other at the 45%-50% mark;
(4) Anglo-Americans that found themselves between the 40% and the 65% mark overlapped with Mexican-Americans at that range but only few Anglo informants were found to be the same as the bulk of Mexican-Americans.

The results of the questionnaire that sought to measure the bilingual's receptive competence regarding his ability to keep two sets of semantemes separate from one another are illustrated on tables 1 and 2. Table 1 contains the sets of items that reflect the most prominent "wrong" responses found among the first 35 sentences of the questionnaire. The percentages of wrong responses are entered in the corresponding column in decreasing order but only item 1 represents an unusually high percentage of error. The paucity of mistaken items when the pairs are given in English suggests that the knowledge of Spanish hardly impairs the choice of the appropriate item. However, when the pairs are given in Spanish, the number of errors increases remarkably and 13 out of the 31 wrong items show that half or more of the subjects made these errors. The responses showing errors have also been listed here in decreasing order. The decrease is gradual and ranges from an 85.29% of informants choosing renta over alquiler to a 5.88% of informants preferring procuró over consiguió.

The two translation exercises show a range from 57.14% to 0% in the English-Spanish translation and one that goes from 78.05% to 4.88% in the Spanish-English translation. These exercises have shown how difficult it is for Mexican-American bilinguals to translate, especially from English to Spanish. The quality of the translation has not been considered, however, but only the fact whether the cognate is or is not used in the other language with the meaning of the source language. In both exercises, all respondents are deviating from the standard usage in at least some items and it is worth noting that a much higher percentage of semantic compounding occurs when the subject goes from Spanish to English. Finally, where the same items occur in the two tables, the items show different positions on the tables depending upon whether the goal language is English or Spanish.

Discussion.

The variation that I observed in the choice of underlying images seems to indicate that the average Mexican-American enrolled at UTSA has adopted many of the cultural values that may be expected from the typical Anglo-American. Toast rather than tortilla comes to his mind when he hears or uses the word "breakfast." Not posadas but carols or tree suggest "Christmas" to him. Only rarely does he think in terms of the extended family and the curandero and he does not associate a *chaperona* with a "date." He thinks in terms of "nap", not in connection with the traditional *siesta* but with a *picnic* or with *old age*. He is friendly to "police officers" and considers them *public servants* and "elections" have become for him a *civic duty* and does not suggest to him *deception* or *disorderly conduct*.

The earlier discussion of Figure 1 had already shown that what we might have expected to be the underlying images for Mexican-Americans did not fully obtain; in other words, Mexican-Americans find themselves caught in the middle between the Anglo and the Chicano stereotypes. The means that resulted from the two sets of questionnaires corroborated this fact: Mexican-Americans only achieved 39.7% of the Chicano stereotype, wheras Anglo-Americans achieved 75.7% of their stereotype. If we express the Chicano's percentage in terms of the Anglo stereotype, we arrive at a figure (60.3%) that is only 15.4% removed from the Anglo mean. More studies of this sort should be attempted to verify this tentative finding but, if it were confirmed, this would imply that educated Mexican-Americans are not as much apart from the dominant culture as we might have suspected. Furthermore, it has been interesting to note that one of the respondents, who identified himself a a Mexican national, reached a 75% of his ethnic stereotype which almost duplicates the 75.7% of the Anglo-American mean. Non-acculturated Mexicans--supposing that this figure is realistic and will be confirmed in a larger sample--could then be believed to be as true to their Latin-American values as Anglos are to Anglo-American ones. The Chicano mean of 39.7%, accordingly, would place Mexican-Americans at approximately 35% from the Mexican mean, whereas it is only 15% away from the Anglo mean. Within this line of reasoning, the Chicano is far closer, actually 2/3 closer, to Anglo values than he is to Mexican values. On the other hand, we must remember that the results described here have been gathered from upper division and graduate students where a high degree of acculturation is not unusual. Freshmen and sophomores, and to a larger degree pre-college students and individuals with little or no eduation, might score quite differently in this respect. Future research would have to reveal information of this nature.

The size of Table One raises an interesting point. There were few instances where bilinguals engaged in semantic compounding under the impact of Spanish semantemes; unfamiliarity with words like *hearing*, *goblets* and *accomodate* may have accounted for the selection of wrong answers there by some informants. However the high percentage of respondents (82.35%) who claimed audience over hearing is difficult to explain. Furthermore, subtleties, such as, the stronger pejorative meaning of *disgust* as compared to *disgusto* may just have been too difficult to capture in a questionnaire of this sort.

Table 2 is significant in that it shows the extent of semantic compounding when Spanish is used. Considering that some bilinguals failed to separate the meanings of 31 out of 44 choice items this means that their English semantemes invaded approximately 75% of the Spanish lexemes of the questionnaire. As a matter of fact, regardless of whether English or Spanish was used, one single set of signifieds (The English signifieds) was adopted by almost half of the speakers tested. Unless we agree upon the fact that this is an instance of semantic compounding, it it impossible to explain why the tested population would use overwhelmingly *renta*, *figura*, *propia*, *miserable*, *lectura*, *lanzó*, *poema*, *ingeniero*, *ocurrencia* when they should have used *alquiler*, *cifra*, *apropiada*, *infeliz*, *conferencia*, *atravesó con lanza*, *poesia*, *maquinista*, *suceso*. The distinction betwen *poesia* and *poema*, again, may be too subtle, since it involves some knowledge regarding poetic forms as *poesia* is a short piece of poetry, whereas *poema*, contrary to poem, a much longer one. Finally, it is usually argued that the vernacular language imposes itself in the home and neighborhood domain and yet the semantemes of items 1, 2, 3, 4, 9, 10, 11 have fallen together with the English ones in favor of the latter. In general, it is noted that no specific pattern emerges when one examines the 31 items on this Table in light of the domains suggested by sociolinguistic researchers.

The translation exercises (cf. Tables 3 and 4) permit us to make another interesting generalization. Whether the bilingual uses English or Spanish, it is always the English semanteme that substitutes for the Spanish one. Thus, translating from English to Spanish, the respondents rendered *patron* as *patron*, *genial* as *genial*, *argument* as *argumento* with no concern for the deceptiveness of these cognates. Translating from Spanish to English they used *bachelor* for *bachiller*, *college* for *colegio*, *gracious* for *gracioso* entirely disregarding the fact that *bachiller* is in Mexico a student who has graduated from the secondary school ("preparatoria"), *colegio* is not a college and *gracioso* has a different meaning from gracious. The Spanish words used in the translation test are fairly common lexemes, hence, the errors can not be construed as unfamiliarity with the Spanish word but must be understood as the convergence of meaning between Spanish and English in favor of the latter.

Conclusion

The administration and interpretation of these exploratory instruments seem to lead to the conclusion that the Mexican-American bilingual, although he speaks the two languages and shares in the two cultures, is maintaining a position on the Spanish/English language/culture continuum that approximates far more that of the typical Anglo than of the typical Mexican. Rather than knowing neither language well or living between two cultures--as this has sometimes been suggested--the Mexican-American of our study has shown to possess a type of linguistic behavior that somewhat reminds us of the one described in Ščerba's classical study (see above). As a matter of fact, the Mexican-American seems to share together with other educated Chicanos, a cultural identity that is not too different from that of members of the dominant class. This cultural-linguistic convergence has revealed itself in our study in the sharing of the same mental images for a selected number of lexical items and in the semantic compounding of words which, because of their overt similarity, facilitate this kind of coalescence. Returning now to the compound-coordinate distinction discussed earlier, we are inclined to argue that the majority of Chicanos at UTSA tend to be compound rather than coordinate bilinguals (and biculturals)in view of the fact that they often share, just like the Sorbians, one set of signifieds with two differents sets of signifiers. More specifically, the average Chicano of our study, whether he says "I am supporting my parents" or "estoy soportando a mis parientes," intends to convey the same meaning. Some investigators have referred to such a development as interference from English but I am suggesting here that it is an instance of semantic compounding or convergence. From a merely historical viewpoint it is interference, but not from a descriptive one that interests us here. The bilingual in a bicultural setting like the one in South Texas differs greatly from a monolingual who is learning a second language with the intent to become a bilingual. The latter is under the pressure of his first language, while the former has reached a situation where he no longer attempts to approximate any further the phonological or grammatical behavior of those who learned English natively. Quite to the contrary, he has adopted an attitude where he favors the convergence of the two systems.

It has been the objective of the present study to discuss some issues concerning the coordinate-compound dimension and to investigate the linguistic behavior of some San Antonio college students in order to explore the extent of their compoundness or coordinateness. The results of this exploratory experiment has suggested that (1) the UTSA Chicano falls, by and large, into the category of compound bilinguals, (2) that his compoundness is a result of a fairly high degree of acculturation into the dominant society and (3) that the diglossic behavior of the older generation is in the process of changing into a more random-bilingual one in the young generation. Whether this assessment is confirmed in a broader sample remains to be seen. There is much need for further research, to validate the data compiled in this study and to expand the investigation to also include the less educated Chicano in urban as well as rural settings. If confirmed, we may wish to utilize this information in the planning of future educational programs for the South Texas Chicano.

TABLE 1

Item	Lexèmic Pair	Spanish Interfèrence Source	Responses	
			Right(%)	Wrong(%)
1	Hearing-Audience	Audiencia	17.65	82.35
2	Annoyance-disgust	Disgusto	64.71	35.29
3	Student-Alumnus	Alumno	73.53	26.47
4	Goblets-Cups	Copas	73.53	26.47
5	Pay attention-Attend	Atender	76.47	23.53
6	Arrange properly-Accomodate	Acomodar	76.47	17.65
7	Different-Distinct	Distinto	85.29	14.71

TABLE 2

Item	Lexemic Pair	English Interference Source	Responses	
			Right(%)	Wrong(%)
1	Alquiler-Renta	Rent	11.76	85.29
2	Cifra-Figura	Figure	26.47	73.53
3	Apropiada-Propia	Proper	29.41	70.89
4	Infeliz-Miserable	Miserable	26.47	70.59
5	Conferencia-Lectura	Lecture	23.53	70.59
6	Atravesó con lanza-Lanzó	Lanced	35.29	64.71
7	Poesia-Poema	Poem	32.35	64.71
8	Maquinista-Ingeniero	Engineer	38.24	61.76
9	Suceso-Ocurrencia	Occurrence	32.35	61.76
10	Bondadoso-Gracioso	Gracious	47.06	52.94
11	Distraido-Preocupado	Preoccupied	47.06	52.94
12	Fingió-Pretendió	Pretended	47.06	50.00
13	Abarrote-Grosería	Grocery	50.00	50.00
14	Sensato-Sensible	Sensible	44.12	47.06
15	Rudo-Grosero	Rude	55.00	44.12

TABLE 2b(continued)

Item	Lexemic Pair	English Interference Source	Responses	
			Right(%)	Wrong(%)
24	Publicaciones-Periodicos	Periodicals	76.47	23.53
25	Sostener-Soportar	Support	76.47	20.59
26	Tener exito-Suceder	Succeed	82.35	14.71
27	Doy cuenta-Realizo	Realize	82.35	14.71
28	Majestuoso-Grande	Grand	82.35	14.71
29	Cantina-Salon	Saloon	85.29	11.76
30	Florero-Vaso	Vase	85.29	8.82
31	Consiguió-Procuró	Procured	71.22	5.88

Note: Where the sum of right and wrong responses does not yield 100%, respondents have left unanswered a particular item. The ordering of items reflects the gradual decrease of wrong responses.

TABLE 2a(continued)

Item	Lexemic Pair	English Interference Source	Responses Right(%)	Responses Wrong(%)
16	Mala reputación-Notoría	Notorious	59.88	44.12
17	Presentar-Introducir	Introduce	61.76	38.24
18	Borracho-Intoxicado	Intoxicated	64.71	35.29
19	Hacer caso omiso-Ignorar	Ignore	61.76	32.35
20	Clientes-Patrones	Patrons	67.65	32.35
21	Recien Nacidos-Infantes	Infants	70.59	29.41
22	Personajes-Caracteres	Characters	67.65	26.47
23	Special-Particular	Particular	70.59	26.47

TABLE 3 (continued)

Item	Deceptive Cognates	Semantic Convergence (%)
10	Villain : Villano	28.57
11	Notorious : Notorio	23.81
12	Actual : Actual	23.81
13	Realize : Realizo	19.05
14	Saloon : Salon	19.05
15	Druggist : Droguero	14.29
16	Parents : Parientes	4.76
17	Audience : Audiencia	4.76
18	Question : Cuestion	0

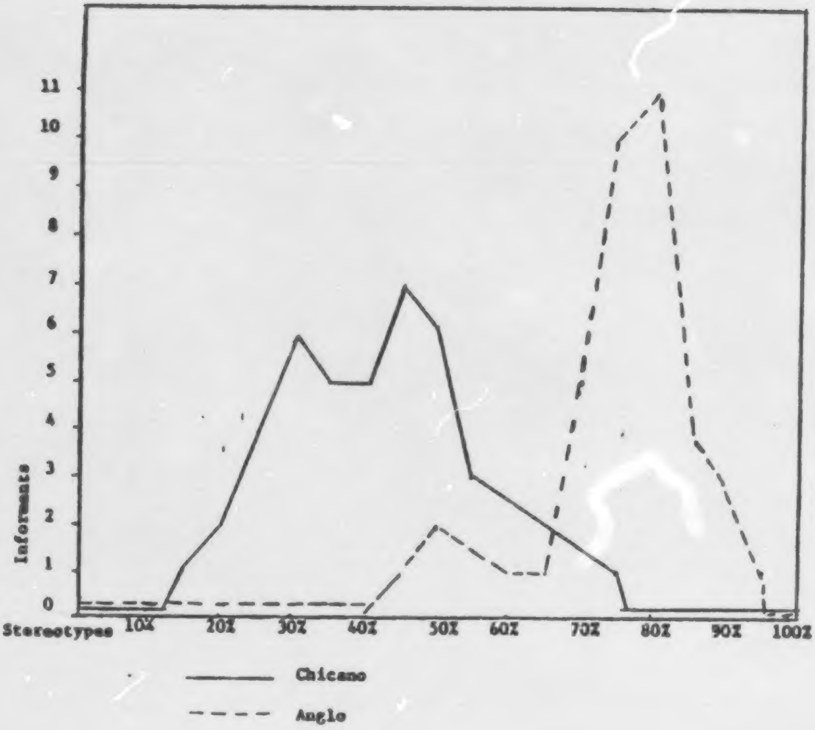
TABLE 3

Item	Deceptive Cognates	Semantic Convergence (%)
1	Patron : Patron	57.14
2	Genial : Genial	47.62
3	Argument : Argumento	47.62
4	Ignored : Ignoró	42.86
5	Ancient : Anciano	38.10
6	Lecture : Lectura	38.10
7	College : Colegio	38.10
8	Assists : Asiste	33.34
9	Introduced : Introdujo	33.34

TABLE 4

Item	Deceptive Cognates	Semantic Convergence (%)
1	Bachiller : Bachelor	78.05
2	Colegio : College	73.17
3	Gracioso : Gracious	65.85
4	Parientes : Parents	57.09
5	Actualmente : Actually	53.66
6	Librería : Library	48.78
7	Soporta : Supports	46.34
8	Escolar : Scholar	39.03
9	Asiste : Assists	31.71
10	Lujuria : Luxury	29.27
11	Disgustó : Disgusted	24.39
12	Audiencia : Audience	21.95
13	Presentaron : Presented	4.88

FIGURE I


11
10
9
8
7
6
5
4
3
2
1
0
Informants
Stereotypes
10%
20%
30%
40%
50%
60%
70%
80%
90%
100%
Chicano
Anglo

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ATTITUDES TOWARD SPANISH:
A FIELD REPORT

Thomasina Hannum

ATTITUDES TOWARD SPANISH: A FIELD REPORT

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Introduction

The past decade has seen an increasing interest and concern, among sociolinguists, in attitudes toward languages and language varieties. Several studies dealing with language attitudes have been reported recently. Most of these studies may be divided into two groups. One group is restricted to teachers, discussing their attitudes toward the language of children with whom they come into contact and, by extension, toward the children themselves. For example, a recent article by MacIntosh and Ornstein (1974) deals with teacher attitudes toward the varieties of Spanish and English used by children in the West Texas area. Another, by Williams (1973), considers dialect attitudes and stereotyping of children by teachers. The other group of studies concerns attitudes of a more general segment of the population. Among these is a study by Ramírez (1973) which explores attitudes toward and use of tirilongo, a very special variety of Southwest Spanish. Similarly, a paper by Underwood (1974) examines the reaction of Arkansas natives to different varieties of English.

Apart from these studies, a report by Ornstein (1974) on the work being done at the Cross-Cultural Southwest Ethnic Study Center describes, among other things, a background questionnaire, administered to students at the University of Texas, El Paso, which includes items dealing with attitudes toward Spanish and English. This sort of work appears important at the University of New Mexico because of a revival of interest by Chicano students in their Hispanic heritage, and very specifically in the Spanish language. How important is Spanish to these students? How do they feel about the variety of Spanish that they speak in relation to other varieties? This paper will address itself to those questions by reporting on the attitudes of a group of university students; first, toward different varieties of Spanish, and second, toward the use of Spanish. The information reported here is part of a larger study which, eventually, will also yield information about the language use patterns of this group.

The material was gathered from questionnaires completed by 64 undergraduate students at the University of New Mexico. All the students were enrolled in the first semester of Spanish for Spanish-speakers classes. Although these are elementary level classes, 52% of these students had had previous experience with the formal study of the language at the junior high and/or senior high school levels. This experience varied from a few weeks to a total of 6 years. There were 31 males and 31 females (2 chose not to report age or sex), and they ranged in age from 17 to 45 years. The majority were 23 years old or younger. Ninety percent of these students were born in New Mexico or southern Colorado. The others have been in New Mexico an average of 16 years. Of those born in New Mexico, 52% were born in the urban areas of Albuquerque and Santa Fe, 37% were born elsewhere in the northern area of the state, 9% in the central area and 2% in the southern area. Seventy-seven percent of the students report present residence as the urban areas of the state, 15% now live elsewhere in the northern area, 6% in the central area, and 2% in the southern area. The group, then, is primarily a young, urban one.

The questionnaire that was administered to these students was in two parts: Language Use Background and Taped Stimulus. Language Use Background was comprised of 40 questions which requested demographic information and asked the students to indicate their use of Spanish and English in various situations. This section also asked about the importance of Spanish to the students. The other part, Taped Stimulus, consisted of listening to a tape recording of various speakers and marking, on a semantic differential scale, a reaction to the person and to the Spanish language as spoken by each person. This part of the instrument was modelled on similar forms used by Underwood and Wölck (1973).

First, let us consider the Taped Stimulus. The tape listened to by the respondents was recorded by speakers from Argentina (ARG), Costa Rica (CR), Mexico (MEX), Puerto Rico (PR), Spain (SP), and New Mexico (NMa, NMb). All the speakers are or have been University of New Mexico students. They are between 21 and 36 years of age. The New Mexicans were recorded to check for any difference in the respondents' reactions. One of the New Mexicans, NMb, has greater oral fluency than the other. She was born and raised in the Taos area of northern New Mexico, has spoken Spanish all of her life, and has lived and travelled extensively in Latin America. NMa was raised in Albuquerque, New Mexico and did not use Spanish extensively until she began her university work in Spanish. The other speakers all exemplify the characteristic, educated Spanish of their respective areas. In an attempt to minimize the effects of sex of the speaker and varied topics on the evaluations made by the students, all the speakers are females and the topic discussed by all is the same. The topic selected was "rice" because it is pan-Hispanic and not controversial. Controlling the contents of the tapes was difficult. Each speaker was to speak freely about the topic. They were asked not to use a written text or notes so as to obtain as natural speech as possible. The resultant tapes were not of even quality and content, but they were used because it was felt that a more controlled tape, as often employed in such studies, would be too artificial.

The subjects were asked to listen to each speaker and then to mark their reaction to the speaker herself on a six-point differential scale for each of five adjectival pairs. The pairs used were friendly/unfriendly, educated/uneducated, humble/arrogant, higher class/lower class, and ambitious/lazy. The same passages were played again, in a different order, and the students were then asked to record their reaction to the language they heard. This was done again on a six-point scale for the pairs relaxed/tense, smooth/harsh, careful/careless, good/bad, and clear/confusing. The six-point scale, with the extremes labelled "very", the middle points labelled "somewhat" and the interior intervals labelled "not very", and modelled on the Wölck scale, was used so that the respondent would have to make a choice one way or the other. Odd number scales allow room for indecision on the part of the respondent because they often include a "neutral" category.

In order to arrive at a rating for each attribute for each speaker, each degree or interval of the semantic differential scale was assigned a value of from 1 to 6, with 6 indicating the most positive degree. The number of responses in each column was multiplied by the value assigned to that column. The sums were totalled and divided by the total number of responses. The results of these tabulations appear in Table 1. A careful reading of the tabulation shows that a majority of the ratings given were on the positive side of the scale, that is, 3.0 or above. Only two speakers received 3.0 or below on an attribute. These were the speaker from Spain, who was rated 3.0 on the humble/arrogant scale and the speaker from Argentina, who received a rating of 2.9 on the higher class/lower class scale and a 2.7 on the smooth/harsh scale. This speaker also received the lowest rating on the educated/uneducated pair and the next to lowest on the relaxed/tense scale. Three of the pairs did not yield much variance at all, and therefore, did not distinguish between speakers. They were ambitious/lazy, with a variance of .8, careful/careless, with a difference of .9 between the highest and the lowest ratings, and good/bad, with a difference of 1.0. The category yielding the greatest variance (2.6) was smooth/harsh.

Tables 2 and 3 show the rankings of each speaker by attribute, and their overall ranking. These tables reveal certain properties of the test instrument itself that merit a few comments prior to a consideration of evaluations of the individuals. A reading of Table 3 indicates that the ratings given for the speaker are fairly close; there is a difference of only 3.0 between the highest rating and the lowest. However, the variance in the ratings for the language of the speaker is 6.3, a much wider spread. Although the respondents show similar reactions to most of the speakers, they discriminate more in rating their Spanish. Generally, a high rating on language correlated positively with a high rating on the educated/uneducated pair. There is a tendency to rate speech that is smooth and fluent as most educated and most careful. In the total ratings received by the speakers, there is a decided break between second and third places. The third, fourth and fifth place totals are close. Between places 5 and 6 there is another break, and also between 6 and 7.

Turning now to the ratings of the individuals, we see that speaker NMb and speaker CR received overall rankings of 1 and 2. They were rated very closely on most of the attributes. Although speaker CR was rated slightly higher on the first part, the person, speaker NMb was rated higher on the second part, the language. NMb was rated first on three of the five language attributes, and second on the other two. Speaker NMa was ranked third on the first part. She was judged most friendly and most ambitious, but second most uneducated and second least higher class. On the second part, the language, she was ranked fourth, but the difference between first and fourth is greater in this part. The overall high ranking of the Spaniard is very interesting. She was ranked fifth on the first part, but received a very strong third on the language section. She was ranked second or third on four of the five attributes judging Spanish.

The very positive ratings received by the two New Mexicans indicate that the students responding to the questionnaire consider the Spanish of New Mexico to be on the same plane with other varieties of Spanish. This correlates positively with the results of Underwood's study on Arkansas English in which respondents were asked to rate speakers of English from various parts of the United States, and in which the Arkansas speakers were also rated high in relation to other speakers.

The second part of the questionnaire, Language Use Background, included, among other things, several items which also dealt with attitudes. Item 25 asked the students to mark how important they considered a command of Spanish for getting a job, making friends, school success, and personal fulfillment. They were asked to provide the same information for English in item 26. The results from these questions appear in Table 4, recorded in percentage form. Twenty-five percent of the students indicate that a command of Spanish is "very" important for getting a job and 50% more consider it "somewhat" important. When asked about the importance of English for getting a job, 87% marked it as "very" important and another 11% marked it as "somewhat" important. For making friends, 51% marked Spanish as being at least "somewhat" important, while 90% of the same respondents marked English as "very" or "somewhat" important. Success in school is closely tied to a command of English. Seventy-nine percent marked it as "very" important and the remainder as "somewhat" important. The same category, when considered in relation to a command of Spanish, did not yield as high a rating. Only 13% considered Spanish to be "very" important to school success. The fourth category, personal fulfillment, resulted in a 100% rating for a command of Spanish as at least "somewhat" important, 73% marking "very" and the other 27% marking "somewhat". A command of English was rated by 86% as being "somewhat" important or more. These results are not very surprising, especiably among college students, but they are intriguing.

The very high rating given to a command of Spanish for personal fulfillment is significant in light of the very high ratings given to a command of English in every category. Apparently, a control of Spanish is most important to this group in a very personal way.

This agree with their answers to items 29-32. These items asked about the importance of Spanish for their families. Table 5 presents the results obtained in these questions. A knowledge of Spanish is generally considered very important for their children, even if they are not living in the Southwest. It is not as overwhelmingly important that their spouses speak Spanish, but if one considers the responses in both the "very" and the "somewhat" columns, 80% of these students consider it at least "somewhat" important that their spouses speak Spanish.

How important is Spanish to these students? How do they feel about the variety of Spanish that they speak in relation to other varieties? These were the questions posed earlier. On the basis of the information gathered to date in this survey, it would soem that Spanish is indeed very important to these students. A control of Spanish plays an essential role in their feelings of satisfaction with themselves and their families. It is not as important in their contacts outside of the home environment. As for their feelings about the Spanish that they speak, again the results of the first part of the questionnaire, Taped Stimulus, indicate that these feelings are very positive. They rated the samples of the Spanish of New Mexico as high or higher than the Spanish of Costa Rica, Spain, and Mexico, and higher than that of Puerto Rico and Argentina. This positive attitude in encouraging as it shows a sense of pride in their language which might be transferred to their children.

Attitude studies are, by their very nebulous nature, difficult to conduct and to evaluate. The researcher has to get the cooperation of the group to be studied. He has to deal with the problems of defining attitudes and developing a means of measuring them, and then testing and revising the instrument to be used. Since this was the first use of the instrument, there are several changes in the first part of the questionnaire, the Taped Stimulus, which now seem to be in order before it is used again. Most of the adjective pairs on the semantic differential scales yielded interesting and valuable information. The three that had a variation of 1.0 or less, ambitious/lazy, careful/careless, and good/bad, have to be changed or eliminated since they did not distinguish much between speakers. The pair relaxed/tense was included in the section for language but now seems more appropriate to the person section. The tape itself has to undergo some changes, too. Greater control has to be exercised on the content without sacrificing natural speech.

Further analysis and evaluation of the information obtained should provide information about possible correlations between the attitudes mentioned here and actual language use patterns of these students. Are they transferring these positive attitudes into action? Is Spanish actually being used much in family-home environments? The answers to these questions will give further insights into the language situation of this group and others like it.

Table 1

Tabulations for Each Attribute

	The Person					The Language				
	friendly-unfriendly	educated-uneducated	humble-arrogant	higher class-lower class	ambitious-lazy	relaxed-tense	smooth-harsh	careful-careless	good-bad	clear-confusing
1. MEX	5.0	4.6	4.5	3.7	4.0	4.1	4.2	4.4	4.6	4.7
2. PR	4.4	4.5	3.5	3.9	4.2	4.2	4.2	4.4	4.3	4.2
3. CR	5.0	5.0	4.4	4.1	4.2	4.4	5.3	5.2	5.1	4.8
4. ARG	4.7	3.5	4.6	2.9	4.0	3.9	2.7	4.3	4.3	4.3
5. SP	4.1	5.0	3.0	4.5	4.8	4.1	4.7	5.0	4.9	4.9
6. NMa	5.4	3.9	4.4	3.4	4.8	3.7	4.3	4.7	4.6	4.8
7. NMb	4.9	5.0	3.9	3.8	4.6	5.1	4.9	5.0	5.3	5.5

Scale of 1-6: 1=least amount of positive quality
6=greatest amount of positive quality

Table 2

Ranking of Speakers by Attribute

	Ranking							
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
The Person								
friendly	NMa	CR/MEX		NMb	ARG	PR	SP	unfriendly
educated	CR/SP/NMb			MEX	PR	NMa	ARG	uneducated
humble	ARG	MEX	CR/NMa		NMb	PR	SP	arrogant
higher class	SP	CR	PR	NMb	MEX	NMa	ARG	lower class
ambitious	SP/NMa		NMb	PR/CR		MEX/ARG		lazy
The Language								
relaxed	NMb	CR	PR	MEX/SP		ARG	NMa	tense
smooth	CR	NMb	SP	NMa	MEX/PR		ARG	harsh
careful	CR	NMb/SP		NMa	MEX/PR		ARG	careless
good	NMb	CR	SP	MEX/NMa		PR/ARG		bad
clear	NMb	SP	CR/NMa		MEX	ARG	PR	confusing

Table 3

Overall Ranking of Speakers

Ranking	The Person	The Language	Total
1 NMb	22.2	25.8	48.0
2 CR	22.7	24.8	47.5
3 SP	21.4	23.6	45.0
4 NMa	21.9	22.1	44.0
5 MEX	21.8	22.0	43.8
6 PR	20.5	21.3	41.8
7 ARG	19.7	19.5	39.2

Table 4

Relative Importance of Spanish and English (items 25 and 26 of questionnaire)

	25) Command of Spanish (%)				26) Command of English (%)			
Importance for	Very much so	Somewhat	Not very	Not at all	Very much so	Somewhat	Not very	Not at all
a. getting a job	25	50	23	2	87	11	2	0
b. making friends	9	42	38	11	42	48	8	2
c. school success	13	35	44	8	79	21	0	0
d. personal fulfillment	73	27	0	0	44	42	12	2

Table 5

Importance of Spanish for Families
(items 29-32 of questionnaire)

	Very much so	Somewhat	Not very	Not at all
29. How important is it that your children know Spanish if you continue to live in N.M.?	85%	15%	0	0
30. How important is it that your children's school support and encourage the use of Spanish?	84%	14%	2%	0
31. How important is it that your children know Spanish if you live outside of the S.W.?	68%	27%	3%	2%
32. How important is it that your spouse speak Spanish?	37%	43%	13%	7%

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ATTITUDES TOWARD BILINGUAL EDUCATION;

ETHNICITY VS. CLASS

Bates Hoffer

ATTITUDES TOWARD BILINGUAL EDUCATION: ETHNICITY VS. CLASS*

Bates Hoffer

In a series of articles in the 70's, one picture of the acquisition of English syntax by Mexican Americans (MA) has been sketched.[1] Some of the results will be given for reference and some new discussion will follow. The thesis treated is that the relation between bilingualism and bilingual education must be seen as much in terms of *class* (in the special definition given below) as in terms of *ethnicity*.

The results of several hundred diagnostic tests of syntactic proficiency tests done in San Antonio and South Texas, can be described in terms of ethnicity. Such a description might read something like this. In the various tests MA averaged 1½-2 years behind the control group during the ages 8-13, which was the age range of the children tested. In terms of reading skills, that lag was magnified to a 3-4 year difference in proficiency. The different levels of MA and Anglo (non-MA, non-black, non-Indian) children should cause a great difference in the curriculum in a system which gears each student's work to his or her level. Educational decisions based on this description are made different from those based on the following. A different way of analyzing the results shows a much different picture. If we analyze the English-only MA, especially if coupled to the next two variables, we find little to no difference in proficiency. If we analyze the bilingual-background MA from lower to lower middle class versus middle to upper middle class (using "class" in broad and relative economic terms), the former average about 1 year behind. If we analyze the students in terms of rural/small bilingual town versus urban setting, we find the former averages about 1 year behind the latter. In short, almost all the *lag* is analyzable in terms of class/location. The apparent difference based on ethnicity essentially disappears--at least for our test subjects--into a class phenomenon. However, that conclusion depends on a rather loose definition of *class*. The rest of this article is taken up with further discussion of *class* and how the better definition raises further issues in bilingual education.

Let us begin this section with the note that the following discussion of *class* is a theoretical one; probably no one will find himself totally within one slot. The definition of *class* herein is not based directly on economic or social status factors, although they ultimately must be part of the final picture, but on value systems. Certainly there are cultural factors, social "class" factors, ethnic factors and so on which must be studied and taken into consideration. Yet it is also true that some attitudes and behavior patterns are not predictable from those factors but can be predicted in terms of value-system.

The general presentation here is based on Gans' work[2] on the class structure in urban settings. His retention of traditional class labels, such as "working class", "middle class", sometimes misleads the inattentive, so different labels are used here. The *action* class (his "low class") is characterized by a female-based family unit and a marginal male. The stable part of the family includes the females and the children. The action-seeking male may provide economic support but provides little or no affection or emotional support. He does not help in rearing children and provides only a negative model for the male children. The mother attempts to provide family stability; the father seeks gratification. For the discussion later, the major factors of the *Action* class are the mother dominance, the view of work as a means (for the male) only for obtaining money for action or gratification, the negative view of education since it is either too expensive from one side and too time-consuming on the other, and the general outlook on life as fatalistic in the sense that the class members have no long term control over any aspect of their life. In this class, the mother's values of stability and support are rather close to the value of the next class.

The *Family* class (Gans' working class) is characterized by values based on the extended family. Decision on school, work and so on are based primarily on family solidarity and stability. The *Family* class sees all outside forces as either supportive or destructive of the family system. It sees itself as a unit apart from "society" and usually views outside structures with hostility. In loose terms, a mild *paranoia* can be said to characterize the *family* class during some periods of crisis; but this does not mean the class is unbalanced, rather that its values have been under constant attack for decades. Employment is usually that which allows full participation in family life. Those who become professionals or successful in other fields but who stay within the family behavioral patterns are still *Family* regardless of income or social standing. Success in work or economic mobility are accepted if not in conflict with the family. Rejection of a promotion which would mean relocation would not be uncommon. Education for the *Family* class --and this point is crucial below--is seen as a means to maximize family satisfaction through the subsequently higher income or the benefits of the subsequent employment. There is a complete rejection of what has become the central idea of our educational philosophy, the idea that

> the student is an individual who should use his schooling to detach himself from ascribed relationships like the family circle in order to maximize his personal development and achievement in work, play, and other spheres of life.[3]

It is not too strong to state that the goal of education is considered *immoral* by the *family* class. Educational programs which consciously or unconsciously have that philosophy are by definition attempting to destroy the family bonds. In *Family* values, the entire extended family or larger group with which it is identified must rise together or not at all. It is usually the case that the *Family* class has the strongest religious values, the least amount of tension-related illness, and the highest job satisfaction level. For the discussion below, the important points are that the extended family is the dominant factor, that work is seen as that which can help family income and maintenance (but which constantly seeks to infect the young with selfish, egotistical ideas), and the outlook on society is that of detachment from a larger society.

The *Unit* class (his middle class) is also family based, but based on the nuclear family. When children marry or reach a certain age, they are expected and encouraged to become a separate nuclear unit. The *Unit* sees itself as a part of the fabric of society and, to use a different metaphor, as a unit which sould rise to its highest level in that society. There are actually two views of the family unit: in one sense the nuclear unit rises or falls together but in another sense the children are seen as a special sub-unit which is entitled to special treatment so that each may later have maximun social and economic mobility. The *Unit* class is seen as the most child-ridden as a consequence. The employment pattern of the unit class is not seen as a means to stabilize but as a *series* of positions moving ever higher on the social and economic ladder. As a corollary education is viewed as a means to maximize opportunities for upward mobility. It is just this emphasis on "upward, ever upward" which suggests a loosely-defined term for the class, and that is the *neurotic* class. Since the goal is upward mobility and there is no definition of a status or goal at the "top" of the mobility, the *Unit* class never reaches a point which gives complete job or social satisfaction. In many ways it is the least satisfied class. One factor which is a major difference from *Family* to *Unit* is that the former is people/person oriented and the latter is object/possessions oriented. Instead of family/peer group goals, the *Unit* class stresses object orientation, such as prestige, career, money, and so on. The important factors for the discussion below are that the nuclear family unit is the dominant force, that work is seen as a series of positions of ever upward mobility, that education is primarily a means of upward mobility, and that the societal outlook is that the *Unit* is part of the larger society and has some control over the future of the *Unit* and society as a whole.

The *Self* class (Gans' professional upper middle class) sees society as a set of individuals who seek (or should seek) to maximize each's status, prestige, income, life satisfaction, or any combination. The philosophy of education given earlier fits here quite well. The *Self* sees himself as only a temporary participant in a family structure. The school, the employment, the social group are all means to individual development. In this class, as in related ones not treated, serial monogamy is one expression of "upward" mobility. Church affiliation often changes for personal advantage. The *Self* strives for more complete control of his future and spends more time in schooling and training to achieve that success and control. For the discussion below, the important factors are that the individual is the dominant force, that work is seen as a means to individual achievement, and that the view of society is that of controlling one's high place and future in the societal fabric.

Let us now use those brief overviews for some comments on bilingual education and attitude toward retention of two languages and cultures. The most obvious incompatibility in class value systems is between the *Family* and the *Unit/Self*. On one side education is seen as a force for stabilizing the family and on the other side education is a means for children to maximize their eventual social distance from their source. This gulf is seen in moral terms. To the *Family* the attempts by a school to encourage a child to leave the community later to "better" himself is seen as an immoral interference with the family rights and responsibilities. On the other side, the *Unit/Self* see the *Family* attempt to keep the child "down" and deny him upward mobility as an immoral infringement on the child's rights. Much of the controversy over bilingual education in the Texas area, as over other educational engineering programs, is based firmly on *class* grounds. Where maintenance of Spanish is seen as supportive of the extended family and its peers, bilingual education is a moral right. Where English is seen as the primary means of mobility, bilingual education is seen as a morally wrong means of preventing Spanish speakers from attaining the necessarily high proficiency in English necessary for maximun mobility. Each side sees morality on its side. No platitudes from the educational planners will solve the deep controversy involved. One problem that arises in school district after school district is that the justification for the bilingual program is often in terms of the children's future mobility, an argument that insures maximun opposition. The interesting fact is that by law the parents through their elected school board have in one sense control over the curriculum, but over and over again programs are put in without sufficient information and support and then defended against the very parents who are legally in charge. The problem goes back to the goal of education quoted earlier. Most educators, especially administrators, seem to be *Unit* or *Self* and therefore view the parents as opponents whose children need to be "properly" educated so that they break the bonds to family and locality. The problem of bilingual education, then, strikes to the center of the moral gulf between the value systems.

One point that is so hard for many to accept is that you cannot predict class by income or occupation or other "outside" factors. *Class* as defined here is an internal value system, often not consciously held and at different times overlapping with other values. The key point is that a so-called working class family defined in occupational terms may have in it individuals from two, three, or all four of the above classes defined by value system. It is commonly observed, for example, that the oldest child in a large family tends to retain the value system of the parents while the youngest children are less predictable. Brothers only a year apart can have different class membership. The conclusion for bilingual curriculum planning is quite clear. You cannot use Spanish surname, or average income, or so on to predict values and decide on programs. The parents should have a choice of programs for their children, a choice guided by results of various proficiency tests and so on. Certainly it is past the time when all Spanish surname children of a certain age are thrown into the same bilingual program.

Another point to be made concerns textbooks. Given the quite different proficiency levels outlined earlier, it is clear that there should be different tracks in both English and Spanish (i.e. an "individualized" program as so many of the schools now have) so that each child can make progress at his stage of development. What is sometimes not noted, however, is that the values in the text may run in opposition to the supporters of the program. For example, where the *Family* sees bilingual education as a means of manintaining cultural and family values, a text which promotes *Self* values too much may run into difficulties. One Spanish track text a few years ago systematically had the mother leaving with a briefcase and the father doing dishes in an apron. Such role reversals may be acceptable to *Self* class but are rejected by *Family*. The *Family* class structure provides a variety of roles for the boys and girls to grow into. The stability provided by the structure and by the group's adherence to it provides part of the high life-satisfaction quotient noted above.[4] The text included a value which is invompatible with the *Family* value. Again, the attempt to defend the text by using *Self* arguments is counter-productive.

The picture of a lag in acquiring English syntax by rural and *Family* MA is to a large extent explained by the definition of *Family* class. As a mark of solidarity, of group membership, the *Family* MA retains the variety of English of the group.[5] In this view their arguments for maintenance of Spanish are applicable to the maintenance of the group's variety of English. An "attack" on the language or language variety is read as an "attack" on the group by the hostile outsiders. Another large part of the explanation of the lag is that most of the rural and *Family* MA (insofar as we could determine the latter) used and heard Spanish far more than English save in the classroom. The two points are for some reinforcing; that is, "school" English is primarily the language of the outsider and cannot be used other than in school. In such situations, it would seem the goal of the English classes through the school years should be that of at least passive competence in the more complicated vocabulary and grammar so that those who want to go on in school have the necessary tools. Emphasizing *performance* by insisting in "perfect" English being *spoken* is of course self-defeating in that the goal is contrary to the student's values. Since these values are usually below the level of consciousness, so to speak, educational arguments on the subject are often useless. The goal of English in the school years is the ability to read and comprehend literate, formal English. Too many texts and programs seem to have the goal of turning out as many duplicates of Walter Cronkite as possible. Note that the redefined goal[6] as suggested above allows the student to retain any value system yet also have the opportunity for personal development. In this set-up, the motivation for a class change comes from the child and/or the parents and not from the educational bureaucracy.

The final point to be made here relates indirectly to bilingual education, at least to bilingual education in the Southwest, studies done over the years by Trinity University and others show that in some areas of, for example, San Antonio some 97% of the homes contain not a single book, magazine, or paper in any language. There is a relatively large illiteracy rate, which means that the present school generation is making a quantum leap just by becoming literate. Children usually "learn" to value reading and school by a sort of osmosis; for example, a child surrounded by books and readers will pick up a book and try to "read" years before school age. That attitude and motivation is well established before kindergarten. In the bookless and readerless situation, it is possible that reading and books and perhaps school become marks of the outside group. The conclusion is rather clear: bilingual education as other types of educational programs will take generations to be effective. It will be the children of the current first-generation literates who will learn by osmosis the value of reading. Bilingual and related programs should be improved and so on, but *must* be given at least 20-25 years to show their best results. This statement is not a call for extra funds for two decades, since the programs are not expensive once they are established. Rather, it is a call for realizing that bilingual and other programs deal with deeply held value systems and therefore must work carefully and cautiously so that they have their effect while not treading on the value systems of the students and their parents.

In conclusion, in a situation which indicates American public education is a disaster area (e.g. more and more functional illiterates are graduating from high school; some entire middle schools average 1½ grade in reading skills; in some school districts 70-80% of the *teachers* cannot pass the competency exam in their own field; etc., etc. *ad nauseum*), no one program can solve all the problems. However, well-designed and well-run bilingual programs *have* helped and will continue to do so when given support. The point of this presentation is that the philosophy and value-system of the program must be carefully defined with the help of the parents whose children are in the program.

NOTES

*This paper is a revised version of one which appears in E. Blansitt and R. Teschner's collection in honor of Jacob Ornstein. The Festschrift will appear in 1980 from Newbury House.

[1] The most recent article is Bates Hoffer, "The Acquisition of English Syntax by Mexican Americans: Grades 1-6", pp. 63-71 in Glenn Gilbert, ed. PROBLEMS IN EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLINGUISTICS. Walter de Gruyter, 1978.

[2] A concise presentation of Herbert Gans' work is on pp. 47-55 of R. Abrahams and R. Troike, eds. LANGUAGE AND CULTURAL DIVERSITY IN AMERICAN EDUCATION. Prentice-Hall, 1972. The title of the extract is "The Working Class, Lower Class and Middle Class".

[3] Gans, p. 48.

[4] Gans, pp. 54-55. An interesting excerpt which makes the point is:

> ...no society I have lived in before or since seemed to me to present so many of its members...so many possibilities and actualities of fulfillment...

[5] The suggestion that one problem in Mexican American education is the educational philosophy itself is not a new one, of course. Thomas P. Carter closed his book (MEXICAN AMERICANS IN SCHOOL: a history of educational neglect. College Entrance Examination Board, 1970) with the following (p. 221):

> Optimistically, it can be predicted that Mexican Americans will make it on their own in spite of the school and social conditions. Pessimistically, it can be predicted that the school and society will react negatively to the increasing pressures for change. If this happens, the very practices that can be assumed to deter Mexican Americans' success in school will probably be strengthened, and if so the schools will contribute to, rather than ameliorate, the grievous

social problems that confront the national society. The school can help, but it must change. Thoughtful people must encourage it to do so.

[6] See, for example, B. Hoffer and J. Ornstein, eds. SOCIOLINGUISTICS IN THE SOUTHWEST. Trinity University, 1975.

PART THREE:

BILINGUALISM AND THE BILINGUAL
IN SOCIETY'S MAINSTREAM

POLITICAL DYNAMICS OF BILINGUALISM AND BICULTURALISM: LESSONS FROM THE ROYAL COMMISSION REPORTS

Kenneth D. McRae

POLITICAL DYNAMICS OF BILINGUALISM AND BICULTURALISM: LESSONS FROM THE ROYAL COMMISSION REPORTS

Kenneth D. McRae

Introduction

My purpose in this paper is to describe recent Canadian developments in the realm of linguistic and cultural pluralism to an audience that may be rather unfamiliar with Canada. I shall therefore begin with certain preliminary observations that may be necessary to make that experience meaningful in a non-Canadian setting. First of all, I would emphasize that Canada is officially and legally a bilingual country. In order to understand the relationship between French-speaking and English-speaking Canadians, therefore, one must go beyond the usual minority-group model of the plural society. In the context of the American Southwest, it is perhaps helpful to imagine for a moment the linguistic and cultural situation that might exist if the United States and Mexico were federated as a single country. This comparison must be modified, however, in that French-speaking and English-speaking inhabitants of Canada have coexisted within the same political system, under one regime or another, for more than 200 years.

Second, the Canadian political system since 1967 has been a federal one, and on balance it is probably more decentralized than that of the United States. The provinces are both larger and less numerous than the American states, and most of them are important foci of regional loyalties. Within this system Quebec has particular importance as a predominantly French-speaking province within the larger Canadian society. In general terms approximately four fifths of Quebec's population is French-speaking by mother tongue, and also four fifths of all French Canadians live in Quebec (for details, see Appendix A). Although territorial minorities may be found in significant concentrations in certain American states, the very high concentration of French-speaking

Canadians in Quebec has no linguistic parallel in the United States. This level of concentration has made Quebec society different in many respects from that in the other provinces.

In the third place, recent changes in language legislation and policy in Canada have given rise to prolonged and often sharp public discussions as to the nature of the Canadian political community. It is clear that no consensus exists as to future patterns or even present models of linguistic and cultural policy. Some accept a basically bicultural model, building upon the legal equality of French and English as provided by the Official Language Act of 1969. Others stress the concept of multiculturalism, building upon a statement by Prime Minister Trudeau in 1971 that pointedly refused to enlarge official bilingualism into an official recognition of biculturalism. Still others think of Canada as a basically English-speaking country with specific but limited privileges for linguistic and cultural minorities, a view that reflects many aspects of Canadian development in the first three generations after Confederation in 1867. Finally, a significant number of Francophones in Quebec as well as some Anglophones, pessimistic about long-range prospects of just or peaceful coexistence, have opted for a political divorce through the separation of Quebec from the rest of Canada.

The point is that in recent decades the interethnic arrangements of earlier times have been increasingly called into question and reexamined, especially--but not exclusively--by French-speaking Canadians who have felt that their language, culture, and group status have hitherto been accorded insufficient recognition. My task in this paper is to describe, in a very general way, how this challenge to the traditional linguistic-cultural framework of Canada has been met. In particular, I wish to outline the role of the federal Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, to trace the development of governmental linguistic and cultural policies in the wake of the Commission's Reports, and finally to assess the situation in 1975. Since the work of the Commission embraced several broad areas of Canadian life, my attempts at a general overview must necessarily by highly condensed.

The Royal Commission and its Background

The primary stimulus to a reassessment of intergroup relations in Canada lay in the modernization of traditional Quebec society, a process which became visible to the outside world in the 1960's as the "Quiet Revolution" but which as roots at least as far back as the 1940's. Aspirations for modernization were manifested in four principal ways:

1) in discontent with existing social structures, and particularly with Anglophone predominance in the financial and industrial sectors;

2) in discontent with traditional educational structures, which were seen as too elitist and too much oriented towards the classical professions of law, medicine, and the Church;

3) in the secularization of society and a waning of Roman Catholic ulturamontanism;

4) in increasing dissatisfaction with the subordinate positions achieved by French Canadians in federal politics.

A further stimulus to change came from French-speaking minorities living outside Quebec, who faced increasing difficulties in language maintenance under conditions of increasing urbanization, industrialization, and a lack of institutions supportive of their linguistic and cultural identity. For several decades before 1960, federal and provincial governments alike--and even the government of Quebec--turned a blind eye to the linguistic and cultural pluralism in their midst, until, through a cumulation of neglect, what had begun as a social problem grew into a profound political crisis.

When the Liberals returned to power after the general election of 1963, one of the early acts of the Pearson government was to establish a federal Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism to study the problem in depth. This body, also known as the Laurendeau-Dunton Commission, was a meticulously balanced group consisting of five predominantly French-speaking and five predominantly English-speaking members. As representatives of the population of neither French nor British extraction, one of the Francophones was of Polish origin and one Anglophone was of Ukrainian origin. In wider context, the Laurendeau-Dunton Commission was one of several large-scale inquiries into specific areas of public policy that have been a feature of the Canadian political scene since the late 1930's.

The terms of reference of the Royal Commission on Biligualism and Biculturalism were important, for they defined the general principles and objectives of the inquiry and established a framework for the Commission's work, a framework which itself constituted an important landmark in ethnic relations in Canada. In general terms the Commission was aked "to recommend what steps should be taken to develop the Canadian Confederation on the basis of an equal partnership between the two founding races, taking into account the contribution made by the other ethnic groups to the cultural enrichment of Canada..." More specifically, it was to investigate and report on three specific areas that may be summarized as follows:

1) The language practices of the federal administration;

2) the role of public and private organizations, including the mass media, in promoting bilingualism and intercultural understanding;

3) the provincial educational systems and the opportunities they offered to learn the French and English languages and to become bilingual.

In the last of these areas it was emphasized that education was a field of provincial jurisdiction and that reform proposals would have to be discussed with provincial governments (R.C.B.B., Book I, 173-174).

Three points concerning these terms of reference are worth noting. First, to the best of my knowledge, they mark the first explicit federal recognition of the equality of Canada's two major cultural groups, and by implication of their respective languages, an equality underlined by the balanced composition of the Commission itself. Second, the unhappy reference to the term "two founding races", which appears more innocuously in the French text as les deux peuples qui l'ont fondée, occasioned much negative comment among English-speaking Canadians, both for its apparently biological overtones and its apparent relegation of non-charter groups to some kind of inferior status. One consequence was a significant upsurge in the activities of ethnic groups of other than British or French extraction as the inquiry proceeded. The Commission's response to this rather unfortunate terminology was to stress the key phrase of "equal partnership" and to eliminate any reference to the term "races" in its reports. A third point of interest is the relatively frequent appearance of the rather vague words "bilingualism" and "bilingual", which occur five times in the terms of reference. As the Commission's work proceeded and problems came to be more clearly identified, the focus shifted more and more away from individual bilingualism to institutional bilingualism, especially the capacity of the public sector to give services in both English and French.

In time the Commission saw its task as one of interpreting its terms of reference in greater detail, of applying them in more specific ways to the complexities of Canadian society, and of making both general and specific recommendations for change to the federal government, to provincial and local governments, to private corporations and associations, and to the public at large. It became active simultaneously on several fronts. As with other commissions of inquiry, there were formal public hearings to receive written briefs from more than 400 associations and individuals. A large-scale but short-term research program produced some 165 monographs and mimeographed studies on various aspects of the Commission's mandate (Adamson and others, 1974). Commissioners met with provincial governments to discuss educational policy. At an early stage, the Commission held a series of informal public meetings across the country to increase public understanding and to explore public attitudes on an informal basis. The outcome of these meetings was a Preliminary Report in 1965 which saw the increasing tendency of Francophone Québécois to reject the political status quo as posing for Canada "the greatest crisis in its history" (R.C.B.B., 1965, 13). Finally, there was the Commission's Report itself, which appeared in six books between 1967 and 1970, accompanied by two series of published research monographs.

The Commission's Recommendations

The first book of the final Report, published in 1967, dealt with the official languages and their legal recognition and protection. Among the 14 recommendations of this volume the most important called for the formal recognition of French and English as the official languages not only of the federal parliament and federal courts (as already provided by the Constitution of 1867) but also of the federal government and administration. Similar full recognition of the two languages was recommended for New Brunswick and Ontario, the two provinces with the largest French-language minorities. To provide meaningful governmental services to linguistic minorities in smaller concentrations, the Commission recommended that a system of bilingual districts, modelled on those existing in Finland, be established by joint federal-provincial negotiation wherever the official-language minorities attained 10 per cent of the population of more. For the federal capital area, which straddles the provincial boundary between Ontario and Quebec, it recommended full equality of the two languages at all levels of public administration, in local government, in provincial as well as federal courts, and in public education. Finally, it suggested that these changes be attained and secured by a constitutional amendment on educational and language rights, by a federal statute on the official languages, and by the appointment of a Commissioner of Official Languages, a sort of linguistic ombudsman, to oversee the application of language policy and to hear complaints from individuals (R.C.B.B., 1967, Book I, 147-149).

The second book of the Report, dealing with education, contained some 46 rather detailed recommendations on the organization of minority-language education and second-language learning. Because of its subject matter, most of these recommendations were addressed to provincial governments. Briefly, the Commission recommended that mother-tongue education should be available for official-language minorities in the newly proposed bilingual districts and in major metropolitan centers. To assure equality of educational standards, minority-language systems were to linked closely to majority systems in an administrative sense, with parallel facilities for teacher training and curricular development. Because constitutional jurisdiction over education is a highly sensitive issue, the Commission recommended federal financial assistance but only enough to cover the estimated *additional* costs inherent in providing education in a second language. Further recommendations concerning second-language learning suggested that the study of the other official language should be obligatory for all students in Canada, that instruction should begin in the early elementary grades (Grade 1 in English-language schools, Grade 3 in French-language schools), and that the second language should be taught not as a foreign language but with emphasis on its use in the Canadian milieu (R.C.B.B., 1968, Book II, 299-304). A third area of concern in this volume, which did not appear in the formal recommendations, drew attention to divergent images of Canadian history presented by French-Canadian and English-Canadian text books, and to the need for any plural society to promote reciprocal understanding of the different perspectives of its constituent cultural groups.

Critics of the Commission were quick to point out that both these volumes were concerned mainly with the rights of the official-language minorities, and since the rights of English speakers in Quebec had been long established this meant that the early volumes were of interest primarily to French Canadians living in the other nine provinces. Up to this point the Commission had said little of relevance to the major area of contention, the deep-seated dissatisfactions of Francophones in Quebec. This focus was to change late in 1969 with the appearance of Book III, a two-volume study of the working world that dealt comprehensively with the role of ethnicity in the Canadian occupational structure as well as language issues in the federal public service and in the private economic sector.

The broad goal of the 41 recommendations concerning the public sector was to enlarge the range of governmental activities that could be performed in French and to place unilingual Francophones who aspired to public service careers on a similar footing to unilingual Anglophones. The primary means to that end was to establish in all federal departments and agencies organizational units in which French would be the normal language of work; such units might either replace or complement existing units, according to administrative need, but there would be no automatic creation of parallel structures. Additional recommendations called for: balanced participation of Anglophones and Francophones in senior-level administrative positions and on planning and advisory bodies; the translation of all internal documents, manuals, and military regulations; the classification of all administrative positions according to their language requirements; the improvement of second-language training; the wider use of French in drafting original texts; and the development of recruitment and promotion policies more sensitive to differences in cultural and educational backgrounds. Several special provisions were aimed at the armed forces, where the linguistic milieu is more pervasive. Among other avenues of linguistic equality the Commission recommended the creation of additional French-language land and air units and called for the choice of language in all disciplinary proceedings to be left to the individual concerned (R.C.B.B., 1969, Book IIIA, 341-347).

For the private sector the highlight was Recommendation 42, which called for French to become the principal language of work in Quebec for large-scale enterprises within the province, while recognizing the claims of English in smaller or specialized firms and in those with significant activities outside the province. A provincial task force was suggested to study and plan the necessary changes in language usage. Further recommendations called for the designation of more bilingual and French-language positions at managerial and technical levels, and more opportunities for Francophone students to enter business careers and advance in their own language. Finally, the Commission suggested that French might become to some degree a language of work in the province of New Brunswick and in bilingual districts of Ontario.

Beyond its work on French-English relations, the Commission did considerable research on the languages, cultural activities, and aspirations of other ethnic groups in Canada. Its findings, elaborated in Book IV of the Report, led to 16 recommendations in three principal areas. First, all types of ethnic or religious discrimination in employment or housing should be attacked by provincial legislation wherever such statutes did not already exist. Second, opportunities for the study of languages other than French or English should be provided in elementary and secondary schools where sufficient demand exists. Third, certain barriers to the use of other languages in the public and private broadcasting systems should be eliminated, and federal cultural agencies should present to the public a more positive and visible image of citizen of neither British nor French origin.

Two further books, published in 1970, dealt with the linguistic and cultural development of Ottawa-Hull, the federal capital area (Book V), and with problems of biculturalism in voluntary associations (Book VI). The first recommended a more positive federal role in promoting a regime of strict equality for the two official languages within the capital area, extending even to the activities of municipal authorities and lower courts, which fall within the provincial jurisdictions of Ontario and Quebec. The second discussed the comparative advantages and disadvantages of integrated, segmented, and parallel voluntary organizations but avoided formal recommendations as a possible intrusion on the fundamental freedom of association.

What is more interesting than the detailed subject matter of these later books, however, is the topics that were not dealt with by the Commission. The original plan for the Report, as outlined in the Preface, had envisioned four additional books, on federal institutions (Parliament, the Cabinet, the Supreme Court), on arts and letters, on the mass media, and finally a general conclusion which would touch on "important constitutional questions concerning the relations and the future of the two societies" (R.C.B.B., Book I, xviii). But by 1970 some sevel years had elapsed since the creation of the Commission. Commissioners were feeling the strain of prolonged intensive effort, many senior staff members had dispersed, financial stringency became a problem, and early drafts of some remaining parts of the Report were felt to be inadequate. More important, when the Commission met in early 1970 to consider a final statement, it became clear that no consensus could be found on the political and constitutional issues. In the end it was decided to disband without issuing further volumes. While parts of the mandate and the report as originally conceived were thus left unfinished, the Commissioners had achieved a remarkable degree of consensus in their work to that point.

The Evolution of Public Policy

If the Report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism offered a fairly comprehensive blueprint for change, the most critical phases still lay ahead. What would be the responses of Canadian society and the federal and provincial governments to the Commission's proposals? The Commission had been appointed by the Liberal Government of Prime Minister Pearson. Its work had been regularly attacked in Parliament by opposition members, and it had evoked rather mixed reactions in both the English-language and the French-language press. By the late 1960's it was by no means clear whether the swelling conflict in interethnic relations could be significantly accommodated by public policy measures. Even in 1975 the ultimate answer to that question perhaps remains unclear but one can list significant changes in at least five specific areas of linguistic and cultural policy which clearly reflect the recommendations of the Commission. These areas may be categorized as follows: (1) the formal designation of the rights and functions of the official languages; (2) changes in the language practices of the federal public service; (3) the recognition of French as priority langauge in the public and private sectors in Quebec; (4) reforms in educational and other practices in the English-speaking provinces; and (5) the development of a cultural policy more reflective of the cultural diversity of Canada.

The first of these changes was effected by the Official Languages Act of 1969, a federal statute that gave full formal and legal equality to French and English as official languages of the federal government and spelled out in some detail the application of this equality. It was passed with the support of all parties in Parliament, though some opposition members broke party ranks to vote against the legislation. In accordance with the Commission's recommendations, this statute provides for publication of all federal instruments and decisions of federal courts and tribunals in both official languages. It requires service to the public in both languages in the federal capital area and in designated bilingual districts. It establishes procedures for the creation of bilingual districts and for revision of their boundaries after each decennial census. It also establishes a Commissioner of Official Languages to oversee compliance with the Act and to investigate complaints. The Royal Commission's recommendation of a constitutional amendment of guarantee language and educational rights, however, has not been acted upon.

One major problem encountered in applying the Official Languages Act has been the designation of bilingual districts. In the prototype developed in Finland the legal consequences of the language legislation follow automatically once the census result has indicated the linguistic proportion for each individual commune. In Canada, where local government structures vary from province to province, the Official Languages Act provides for an advisory board to recommend suitable district boundaries on the basis of census results for areas having official-language minority concentrations of 10 per cent or more, but only after consultation with provincial authorities. This latitude in the selection of district boundaries leaves considerable discretion to the board, and the federal government in turn may accept or reject its recommendations. The result of this double discretionary authority has been to politicize sharply the whole question of bilingual districts. The report of the first Bilingual Districts Advisory Board, based on the 1961 census, was rejected in 1971 by the federal authorities, and the report of the second Board, based on the 1971 census and submitted late in 1975, had not been acted upon at the end of that year.

The process of linguistic change in the public service has proceeded not be statute but by successive administrative decisions, accompanied by consultation with the public service staff associations. From the start it has encountered firmly entrenched interests of incumbent office holders who have little or no capacity to function in the second official language. The question of change is also sensitive politically, and one interpretation attributes the almost fatal loss of Liberal seats in the 1972 election, particularly in the capital area, at least partly to an English-Canadian "backlash" against the Official Languages Act and federal language policy generally. Despite these difficulties, considerable changes in the linguistic patterns of the federal public service have been achieved, though not always rapidly enough to satisfy the pent-up grievances of French-speaking Canadians in the face of an organization that has operated almost exclusively in English at headquarters level for more than a century.

Two basic principles have emerged as federal language policy has evolved. First, the language of external communication should be in either English or French at the option of the citizen. In practical terms this means that English will be used in English-speaking areas, French in French-speaking areas, while both languages must be available in the federal capital area, in the still-to-be-proclaimed bilingual districts and any other areas of significant demand for bilingual services. Secondly, with respect to the internal or working language, employees should be able to work mainly in the official language of their choice, at least in bilingual areas of the country. In 1972 the target date for realizing these changes was set as 1978.

As means of implementing these principles the federal government accepted two basic steps recommended by the Royal Commission. First, it accepted the principle that some administrative units in each department would work primarily in French, so as to provide a working environment for Francophone officials and stimulate wider use of French at all levels of the bureaucracy. The first units were created, on an experimental basis, in 1971. Second, the government accepted the principle of classifying every position in the federal public service, in terms of its indicated language requirements, as either bilingual or unilingual. By 1974 some 288,000 positions across the country had been so classified, and of these 19 per cent or 55,000 posts were identified as bilingual, 60 per cent required English only, 13 per cent required French only, and 8 per cent allowed the use of either language. In the federal capital area some 44 per cent of positoins were identified as bilingual, and in general requirements for bilingualism are higher in the senior ranks (Commissioner of Official Languages, 1975, 392-393). The target is to have bilingual posts filled by qualified bilingual personnel by 1978, though certain concessions have had to be made to unilingual incumbents of positions identified as requiring bilingualism. In order to preserve equal access to the public service, even unilingual candidates may compete for bilingual positions if they are willing to take second-language training at public expense. One result of these policies has been a dramatic expansion of second-language training in the public service, with priorities for those already occupying or about to enter bilingual posts.

Two further developments concerning the public service deserve mention. First, there have been intensified efforts to attract more Francophone candidates, though the level of Francophone recruitment since 1971 has remained somewhat below the proportion of Francophones in the total population. Second, changes in the public service itself have been accompanied by measures to improve the general ambiance of the Ottawa-Hull area as a suitably bilingual capital for a bilingual country. In particular, a significant proportion of new governmental office space is now being located in Hull, in the Quebec portion of the National Capital Region.

The third major area of policy change concerns language usage in Quebec. Even before the federal Royal Commission published its recommendations on the language of work in Quebec, the provincial government had established its own commission of inquiry (the Gendron Commission) which was given a broad mandate to recommend measures to guarantee the linguistic rights of the majority as well as the protection of minority language rights, and to promote the full expansion of French in Quebec, particularly in the educational, cultural, social and economic sectors. After four years of study, this Commission published a three-volume report (Commissoon d'enquete, 1972), and this report was in turn followed by comprehensive language legislation passed in the provincial legislature in July 1974.

The provincial legsitlation is complex, but its main tendencies may be described under three headings. First, it makes French the sole official language of the province, and requires its use in a wide range of public sector activities. The use of English as well is prescribed in certain circumstances, and the federal constitutional guarantees for both languages in the provincial legislature and courts remain as before. Second, it offers a variety of inducements and sanctions to encourage the greater use of French in the business and industrial world, as well as in service industries and consumer relations. Third, in the field of education, while asserting the right of pupils of English mother tongue to be educated in English, it requires children speaking neither English nor French to attend the schools of the French-speaking majority. This last requirement represents a major departure from current practice and has given rise to bitter disputes, despite the fact that it simply codifies for Quebec what has always been the written or unwritten rule of all the English-speaking provinces. The core of this controversy centres on metropolitan Montreal, which in 1971 had some 328,000 residents, or 12 per cent of the total population, of other than French or English mother tongue.

A fourth area of policy changes lies in the evolving language practices of the nine predominantly English-speaking provinces. These reforms have been mainly in the field of education, although New Brunswick, which has proportionally the largest official-language minority in the country (34 per cent French mother tongue in 1971), has declared itself an officially bilingual province. Several other provinces have provided better opportunities for French-speaking children to be educated either wholly or partially in their mother tongue. Since 1969, Ontario has provided French-language education as a right whenever there is a demand from 10 Francohpne parents or more, thereby closing a long chapter of educational history in which governmental policy on minority-language schooling ranged from destructive neglect to attempts at administrative suppression.

Further developments may be noted in the study of French as a second language by Anglophone children. Between 1970 and 1974 the early study of French in elementary schools increased in all English-speaking provinces except Alberta and Saskatchewan. However, in secondary schools the study of French declined significantly, ostensibly as a result of the franmentation of curricula and the dropping of language requirements for university entrance. In the English-speaking provinces only 41 per cent of pupils studied French at secondary level in 1974-75, compared to the virtually 100 per cent of Francophone students in Quebec studying English (Commissioner of Official Languages, 1975, 28-31). One more hopeful augury for the future is that some school boards in Ontario and Quebec are offering full-time French immersion classes for Anglophone students in elementary grades, and the results have been sufficiently promising that in Ottawa this option now attracts about 30 per cent of all children entering the English-speaking educational stream. It is sometimes suggested by those who oppose reforms that the new requirements for bilingualism will make the public sector into a vast preserve for Francophones. The evidence to date suggests that impressive numbers of sufficiently motivated Anglophones are successfully adjusting to the new language rules and that this process of adaptation will be more marked in the next generation. Nor is this surprising, for it seems to be observable in other countries under comparable conditions of linguistic change.

A fifth area of policy development, and perhaps ultimately the most difficult problem to define, has been the federal attempt to respond suitably to the ethnic and cultural diversity of Canada's population. The Royal Commission, as required by its mandate, had been careful to situate its research and recommendations concerning the other ethnic groups within a basic framework of linguistic-cultural duality. Yet even these recommendations reflect some tension between basic goals of equality and integration of individuals on the one hand and mother-tongue maintenance and cultural distinctiveness on the other. In October 1971 Prime Minister Trudeau, perhaps in response to increased pressures from ethnic organizations, announced the federal government's rejection of the concept of biculturalism and proposed instead a policy of multiculturalism within a bilingual framework. While adhering to official bilingualism, federal policy would recognize no official culture and would treat all cultural groups equally. At the same time the Prime Minister announced a series of programmes aimed both at easing the burdens of immigrant adjustment and at positive support for ethnic groups and organizations wishing to expand their activities.

The path of development since 1971 has been rather confused. A cabinet minister was appointed with responsibility for multicultural programmes, and in 1973 a Canadian Consultative Council on Multiculturalism was appointed to provide systematic representation and input from major ethnic associations. The early work of this Council has tended to reinforce earlier tendencies of some ethnic organizations to develop group aspirations and claims in the field of minority-language education and broadcasting comparable to the programmes undertaken in support of official-language minorities. Since 1974, following a change of ministers, the government has appeared to be retreating from the implications of these claims, and in 1975 stress is once more being placed on immigrant integration and the elimination of discrimination as the central themes of federal programmes in this area. Some provincial governments, however, have also been developing programmes to assist ethnic groups in maintaining their cultural heritage.

It is soon to discern the eventual outcome of these shifting currents of policy. The basic concept of multiculturalism has been viewed with considerable suspicion by French Canadians and criticized by some academic sociologists (Porter, 1972; Rocher, 1973). At the practical level, it seems likely to divert English Canadians from facing up to the far from negligible burdens and adjustments demanded by official-language bilingualism in federal institutions, and to offer an easy escape for Anglophones who are substantially content with the language situation as it existed prior to the 1960's. One may suggest that these policy vacillations on the topic of multiculturalism stem partially from the lack of urgency of the issue. For the near future at least the question of official bilingualism belongs to the realm of hard sociological realities, while the issue of multiculturalism lies more in the domain of cultural options. Policies on multiculturalism may influence electoral results in some federal and provincial constituencies, but they do not bear so directly on the very survival of Canada as do policies concerning the official languages.

Some tentative conclusions

It is time now to try to assess the combined effect of the several areas of change that I have sketched all too briefly above. I begin from the premise that the sociolinguistic situation in Canada and especially in Quebec as it was prior to 1960 has become intolerable to significant members of Francohpone Canadians, and that the option of political independence for Quebec was becoming increasingly attractive as prospects for significant change receded. What, basically, has happened since the appointment of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism in 1963? Have language practices changed significantly? Or is time running out faster than remedies can take effect? To answer these questions involves difficult judgments in order to estimate and compare the rate of introduction of remedial measures and reforms on the one hand and the rate of mobilization of Francophone discontent on the other. Needless to say, such comparisons are far from simple.

One may approach these judgments from two distince vantage points, and they appear to lead to disturbingly different results. The first and more optimistic is the view of Canada from the federal capital itself. From this perspective, there has been real and significant change in the working of the federal public service. Telephones are answered in French, meetings are conducted in both languages, documentation is very extensively in bilingual format, an although the transformation is in many ways incomplete the general linguistic atmosphere has changed in subtle ways. Further changes are visible in the general environment of the capital itself. The Ottawa civic administration, which refused to cooperate with the Royal Commission in 1966, has since been headed by a Franco-Ontarian mayor and has improved its capacity to give service in both languages. The Quebec sector of the capital, for long the poor relation of the National Capital Region, is being developed rapidly. While areas of resistance and a lack of awareness may still be found in some Anglophone circles, the overall impression is one of reasonable successful adjustment to the language problem. Even Francophones are disposed to admit the improvements in federal institutions, and of course what matters ultimately is how changes are seen by the minority group itself.

The second vantage point is that of contemporary Quebec society, and especially its urban centres. Here we find an influential segment of the Francophone population whose political interests lie more and more in building a new Québécois society and who are no longer interested in what happens at federal level. Provincial realities, always strong in Quebec, have probably become stronger, and what happens in Ottawa is simple remote and irrelevant. The danger at this stage is not so much separation by overt violence as a slow evolutionary growing aprat until the process becomes irreversible. The majority of the Quebec electorate still supports pro-federal parties, but in the last two provincial elections the independentist Parti Québécois captured 23 and then 30 per cent of the popular vote respectively. There are fundamental ambiguities in political behavior in Quebec, and Pinard (1975) assembles empirical evidence for a duality of loyalties among Quebec Francophones. Nevertheless the evidence suggests that the primary affective links for most people are with the province, and it seems quite possible, in the present climate of opinion, that provincial orientations may be made at federal level.

In the context of 1975, it is difficult to say which of these two contrasting perspectives is more relevant for the future of the Canadian political system. What does seem to stand out over the past year or two is a waning of the intensity of the debate, but whether this should be viewed as an indication of increased satisfaction as a result of reform or of apathy and disinterest in further dialogue is by no means clear. A third possibility is that after a decade and a half of intensive debate a high level of public interest in French-English relations can no longer be sustained in the face of competition from other issues, including the claims of native peoples, women's rights, and - most of all - an increased concern for economic problems. Whatever the precise reason for the change, public discussion in the mid-1970's seems to have receded from the consideration of broad principles of French-English relations to a preoccupation with specific issues, such as, for example, the use of French in air traffic control, or admission procedures to Quebec minority-language schools, or the quality of health care available in French in Ontario. Comparative study of other plurilingual societies suggests that issues of this type occur regularly even in the most stable language situations, and hence that the language conflict in Canada may be arriving at a satisfactory level of institutionalization.

By international standards the level of integration of Canadian society may appear to be low. In the face of several competing sub-national and supra-national loyalties, the Canadian federal state calls forth relatively low levels of allegiance from its citizens of all cultural backgrounds (McRae, 1973). But this has been a feature of the Canadian political system from the beginning and should not be viewed as a serious obstacle to its continuance. For the future, one can confidently predict recurring disagreements in Canada on a wide range of specific linguistic issues. One cannot predict, with any certainty, the long-range success of the new language arrangements. It may be that further major reforms will prove necessary before some degree of institutional stability can be reached. But if the developing adjustment mechanisms established over the past decade continue to function, there are grounds for believing that the most acute phase of the crisis of Canadian Confederation in the 1960's may have begun to recede.

APPENDIX A

TABLE 1

POPULATION OF CANADA AND PROVINCES BY MOTHER TONGUE, 1971 (PERCENTAGES)

Province	Total population (000's)	%	English	French	All others
Newfoundland	522	100	98.5	0.7	0.8
Prince Edward Is.	112	100	92.4	6.6	1.1
Nova Scotia	789	100	93.0	5.0	2.0
New Brunswick	635	100	64.7	34.0	1.3
Quebec	6028	100	13.1	80.7	6.2
Ontario	7703	100	77.5	6.3	16.2
Manitoba	988	100	67.1	6.1	26.8
Saskatchewan	926	100	74.1	3.4	22.5
Alberta	1628	100	77.6	2.9	19.5
British Columbia	2185	100	82.7	1.7	15.5
Canada (including territories)	21,568	100	60.2	26.9	13.0

Source: Canada Year Book, 1974: 165-167

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TABLE 2

DISTRIBUTION OF CANADIAN POPULATION BY ETHNIC ORIGIN, MOTHER TONGUE, AND LANGUAGE MOST OFTEN SPOKEN AT HOME, 1971 (PERCENTAGES)

Language/Ethnic group	Ethinic origin	Mother tongue	Home language
English/British	44.6	60.2	67.0
French	28.7	26.9	25.7
Italian	3.4	2.5	2.0
German	6.1	2.6	1.0
Ukrainian	2.7	1.4	0.7
Indian and Eskimo	1.4	0.8	0.6
Greek	0.6	0.5	0.4
Chinese	0.6	0.4	0.4
Portuguese	0.4	0.4	0.3
Polish	1.5	0.6	0.3
Magyar/Hungarian	0.6	0.4	0.2
Netherlands	2.0	0.7	0.2
All others	7.4	2.6	1.2
	100	100	100

Source: Canada Year Book, 1974: 165-167

THREE CASE STUDIES IN ITALIAN AMERICAN ETHNICITY AND LANGUAGE USE

Robert J. Di Pietro

THREE CASE STUDIES IN ITALIAN AMERICAN ETHNICITY AND LANGUAGE USE

Robert J. Di Pietro

Bilingualism has become highly politicized in this country. In the eagerness to make the United States Congress sensitive to the pluralism that characterizes American society, advocates from non-English speaking groups have allowed the speaking of their languages to be associated with economic and cultural deprivation. Eventually, congressmen became convinced that the answer to the activism of such groups was to be found in bilingual education. Seen as an antipoverty measure, sizable funds could be allocated for bilingual/bicultural school programs, especially for those which would eventually promote the use of English. In order to achieve this victory of sorts for bilingualism, a coalition was needed of intellectuals and economically deprived non-English-speaking groups.

Now that we stand at several years' distance from the first national legislation on bilingualism, the discrepancies are easier to find. Totally omitted from serious consideration in such legislation are the 'old world ethnics' --those who represent the languages of the great immigrations of the turn of the century: Polish, Ukranian, Yiddish, Slovak, Greek, and Italian, for example. Such people are economically, culturally, and politically 'in the middle'. Most are above the poverty level in income, but few are really rich. They are woefully under-represented in American corporations. They are family-oriented and they tend to remain, generation after generation, in the same neighborhoods of cities and towns. There were, of course, no bilingual programs for their parents and grandparents when they first arrived and there was no real desire on the part of nativistic Americans to understand them. What has happened to them is very much a part of the making of this country. As linguists, psychologists, and sociologists, we would be amiss in not studying them carefully. What we can learn from them will certainly help us in forecasting the future for groups such as the Chicanos, many of whom preserve their language and cultural patterns. The study is not an easy one for many reasons. Not only are the European ethnics losing the use of their original languages but they are not visible politically. Moreover, many of the scholarly investigators who would be involved are, themselves, from these groups. Thus, the study becomes a 'self-study' to an extent that is potentially painful. It is much easier to study someone else.

Perhaps the most significant aspect to investigate in dealing with European ethnics is the effect that language loss and code switching have had on personality structure. The approach taken here is that of the psychological case study. There are three subjects, two men and a woman, who have been interviewed and interacted with over a period of several years. Discussion of these cases will hopefully open the door to longer, more detailed studies of Italian Americans and their language competencies.

Case no. 1: Subject is a physician, middle aged and male. Both parents were born in Italy. This subject attended public schools in an eastern seaboard city heavily populated with Italian Americans. His school years coincided with that pre-Second World War period when the Italian government actively promoted the teaching of Italian in America. Among the many incentives offered to both teachers and students of Italian were scholarships to pursue advanced language studies in Italy. The subject earned the right to receive such a scholarship but was unable to use it because of the outbreak of the war and the suppression of the program. He went on to study medicine and became a highly successful physician. In later life, he has actively engaged in social and civic activities centering on Italian Americans as an ethnic group. He is regarded as a 'prominent' Italian American.

When I met him, he was already highly successful in his professional and social life. The occasion of our first meeting was a banquet honoring a dignitary of the

Italian government and he had been called upon to make the introductions. He chose English as the language for the major part of his speech but then attempted to end his remarks with a few words in Italian. When he got to the part to be said in Italian, his style changed notably. He paused and showed signs of being under great emotional stress. His style of delivery of the Italian part is best characterized as schoolboyish or 'recitational'--as if he were reading aloud from an exercise book and expected to be corrected at any time. In subsequent private conversations with me he frequently expressed a desire to resume his Italian studies and to speak the language fluently. He has already taken on more formal study in the language, has traveled to Italy on many occasions and has older relatives who speak Italian natively. Since he has professional colleagues who are native Italians he could, if he wished, use the language daily with them. He does not, however. He does code-switch occasionally, but only in informal situations. His switching always involves English and American-Italian koine. He never uses standard Italian in code-switching, to my knowledge.

Case no. 2: Subject is a social worker, middle aged, and male. Both parents born in Italy. This subject did not have the benefit of Italian instruction in public school. He is the son of a coal miner and he spent his youth in an economically depressed section of an eastern state. After high school, he went to work as a miner, himself. At one point, undetermined by me, he decided to attend college. Through his college education, he became interested in politics and sociology. After college and graduate school, he decided to become a social worker in his home area, but not among Italian Americans. For more than a decade, he worked with poor blacks and developed a political reputation as a promoter of liberal causes. His interest in social work eventually led him to concentrate on urban groups and to organize a center for urban social studies in a major American city. As in the case of the first subject, he is highly successful in his career. In fact, a recent issue of a leading national weekly magazine listed him among the top political figures in this country.

After meeting me and learning that I am a linguist who specializes in Italian studies, he professed a great desire to 'finally learn the language'. He told me that his father and mother spoke the language at home but neither he nor any of his brothers and sisters could speak it. They understand Italian but have no productive competence in it. As a follow-up to our conversation, he called me a few days later and asked me to recommend some Italian textbooks to him. I have met him frequently on subsequent occasions and have asked him about his progress in learning Italian. He tells me that he is very busy and just hasn't had the time to sit down and work at it. I suggested that what he needed was to use the language. He agreed but said there was little opportunity to do so. He has recently joined an informal study group comprised of professionals in several fields who are interested in exploring Italian American ethnicity and its impact on American society. He often speaks lovingly of his own childhood and the Italian homelife he had. I have never observed him code-switching. His pronunciation of Italian names and expressions is Anglicized and indistinguishable from that of any other English-speaking monolingual American.

Case no. 3: Subject is a high school English teacher, 26 years of age and female. Unlike the other two cases, this subject's parents were born in the United States. Her grandparents, on both sides, were born in Italy. She has never studied Italian formally and has no understanding of it, either receptively or productively, beyond a few expressions relating to food, kinship terms and holidays. She has studied other languages in school but claims a lack of aptitude for language study in general. In the first interview, I asked her about her Italian background. She emphatically denied having any ties with it either culturally or emotionally. When I asked if her Italian surname had ever led her to reflect on her background, she became openly hostile and challenged me to find anything in her that could be ascribed to Italian ethnicity. Next, I asked her if anybody had ever made any disparaging remarks to her which could be called ethnic. She then said that people have 'accused' her of talking with her hands. In addition, her family name has been the subject of ridicule or misunderstanding on many occasions--to the extent that in calling ahead to make reservations at a restaurant, she often uses an Anglo-Saxon pseudonym instead of her real name.

Some months after the first interview she wrote to tell me that she had taken a trip to Italy, her first, and was surprised to find herself so much at home there. No one had any difficulty with her name and no one ridiculed her style of conversation. On returning to the U. S., she abandoned the private lessons she was taking in Spanish and began to study Italian. Her new interest in her background has led her to remake her social life considerably. She is now engaged to be married to a native Italian.

Discussion of the Cases. There are many factors which a study of these three cases can contribute to the understanding of language retention among ethnic groups in the United States. The prevailing contemporary tendency in bilingual studies has been to focus on cognitive aspects of language code. By tradition, the psychological interest has been to determine in what ways the subject is competent in the two or more languages involved. More recently, code-switching has been approached from the point of view of what topics, interlocutors and settings can motivate the switching from one language to another by bilinguals. Unfortunately, the effects of language loss on personality structure and life style have been neglected. In each of the three cases cited, as distinct as they are, there is a unifying thread. Each subject has had to face the question of how to identify personally with an ethnic group and language. Even in the third case described above, that of the young woman with American-born parents, two stages of development can be discerned: (1) an early one in which rejection of Italian ethnicity is attempted and (2) a later one, in which ethnic awareness becomes part of a personal maturation process. The third subject's apparent lack of aptitude for language study was overcome once she decided to face, head-on, her own ethnicity. There is a clear manifestation here of the phenomenon where a person can ultimately re-address the matter of national extraction once the ethnic 'marks' are either removed or reconciled. The second generation types--subjects 1 and 2--have not been able to do so. Case no. 1 continues to try but has built a mental block to achieving success. It is as if he does not want to succeed but needs to justify to himself that he has tried. To succeed in becoming fluent in Italian may mean to him a reverting to a period of his life which had various social traumas: living in an Italian ethnic neighborhood during the time the country was at war with Italy and having thoughts of a time when his own future was insecure. To compensate, he courts success in ethnic societies, clubs and other social ways. The instruction he had in Italian appeared to be divorced from any communicational value and most likely was given in a stressful atmosphere. (Incidentally, one can only conjecture as to how many cases involving economically successful Chicanos enrolled in Spanish courses are similar to this one).

Subject no. 2 has politicized his ethnicity but has been unable to include the language that goes with it. Eventually he may find a professional need to speak the language. If he does, he may learn it well. As of now, his political activities encompass Italian Americans who speak English. He is perhaps more reconciled to not gaining fluency in Italian. He will probably continue to express regret that he 'has not had the time' to learn the language and this part of his personal identity will remain underdeveloped.

Americans of Italian extraction who have become successful in the ways that other Americans become successful achieve their goals by repressing major aspects of their ethnicity. For Italians in the United States, repression means denying the unifying force of the extended family, increasing one's mobility beyond the home neighborhood, and developing eating and drinking patterns which are more like the Anglo-American norm. The effects of an insensitive school system have been, among other things, the denial of gestures as legitimate accompaniment to speech and the Americanization of names. Subjects 1 and 2 both had Americanized forms of their Italian names and Subject no. 3 was highly defensive about her name.

The sanctions against the use of Italian in religious services by prelates of the American Catholic Church also played a significant part in the ethnic's difficulties with identity of person. All three subjects had something to say about this matter. The first two attempted to maintain Italian language use in Church affairs by becoming more active Catholics while the third fell away from the Church completely.

All three subjects also spoke against American mass media and its characterization of Italians as criminals. Each felt that the stereotype of criminal played a part in his not wanting to be identified with Italian Americans at some stage in life.

To conclude, I reiterate my plea for more studies of a personal kind which explore the individual ethnic's personality development and the role played by language in that development. We have not yet touched upon the very significant changes that can happen in the course of a person's life because of the interface between ethnic and national language. One final illustration can be given of what can happen to an ethnic because of language from yet another case. A young woman who told me that both she and her brother grew up speaking Italian until one day, in a school yard, when her brother was 13, a man heard him speaking the language and made fun of him. Her brother never spoke the language again after that. Just what psychic damage was done to him can only be imagined.

PERSONAL REFLECTIONS ON GROWING UP BILINGUAL

Einar Haugen

PERSONAL REFLECTIONS ON GROWING UP BILINGUAL

Einar Haugen

When Professor Ornstein approached me about participating in this symposium on bilingualism, I objected on the grounds that what I had to say is available in print, and that nothing new could come out of my participation. He then suggested that I might salt the meeting by some personal reflections on my own experience, and I agreed to make an effort in this direction.

When one has worked in a field for a number of years, the time comes when younger people, who have used some of one's materials, go out and gather more data and arrive at new and better conclusions. That is as it should be, but it does give one a sense of being left stranded in the ocean of the past. My basic research is embodied in my two-volume study The Norwegian Language in America: A Study in Bilingual Behavior (1953, new edition 1969). However linguistic theories may change, the data included there are a permanent and now non-replicable source of information about the transition of one American immigrant group from one language to another, via a century or more of bilingual living.

My goal was to see the experience of my own Norwegians against a background of all other American immigrant groups, something I tried to do in Bilingualism in the Americas: A Bibliography and Research Guide (1956, 1964 etc). In the meanwhile I had been able to benefit from the brilliant theoretical work of Uriel Weinreich (1953), so that this study was more technically oriented than my first. In 1974 I followed it up with a contribution to Sebeok's Current Trends in Linguistics, surveying the literature between 1956 and 1970 under the title

"Bilingualism, Language Contact, and Immigrant Languages in the United States." I was asked to collect some of my older essays on the topic in a volume edited by Anwar Dil; I called the book The Ecology of Language (1972) and included one new essay, with the punning title "The Stigmata of Bilingualism". In the last few years I have participated in several symposia and have delivered separate lectures on the subject, some of which have appeared in print (I shall append a list of titles).

Today I shall say something about my own experience of growing up as a bilingual, followed by some views on bilingual education and ethnicity, with, finally, some suggestions on needed directions of research.

My interest in bilingualism originated as an extremely personal concern. I was born in the state of Iowa of Norwegian immigrant parents. My earliest recollections are of the problems I encountered in keeping apart the Norwegian I spoke at home with my parents and their friends from the English I spoke on the street with my playmates and at school with my classmates and teachers. It was an urban and wholly American setting, with no immediately surrounding neighborhood to support the language of my parents, contrary to the situation of many rural communities of the Middle West and the Northwest.

However, thanks to my parents' adamant insistence on my speaking their native tongue at home, the threshold of the home became the cue to my code switch. As an only child I lacked the support of siblings against the will of the parents, which those of my playmates who were of foreign origin mostly had. I know that in coming in from a lively period of playing, I blundered many a time in violation of Norwegian idiom. My parents showed considerable tolerance in this respect, although my mother as the school teacher she was trained to be, tried to keep up standards of purity. For the most part my errors, or as I would now call them, "interferences", were not noted and corrected, since the Norwegian spoken by my parents in this setting had itself converged considerably in the direction of English, especially by the adoption of English words and phrases.

For example, we never used any other word for a "broom" than the English word, pronounced as "brumm" in terms of Norwegian spelling. I can recall the amusement and momentary consternation it caused when a visitor from Norway used the term "kost". We never thought twice of saying that we were going to "krǫsse striten" when we meant to "cross the street." As travelers we might "putte sutkeisen på saidvåka" instead of "sette kofferten på fortauget", as our urban contemporaries in Norway would have done when they put their suitcase on the sidewalk. My parents may have made some efforts to avoid such terms in speaking to well educated or recent arrivals from Norway, but the words were so universal in the usage of the people with whom they mostly associated, that they no longer excited any remark, except in an occasional witticism. They were historically speaking "interferences", or even well-established "loans", and in our usage they were part of a new code, a partially merged language which I have called American Norwegian, an "interlanguage", if you will.

At the age of eight I had the experience of being taken back by my parents to the rural community in Norway from which they had sprung. In terms of the American city neighborhood where I had grown up, this was a fairly unusual experience. But my parents were at first genuinely hopeful that they could "go back home," only to be disillusioned after two and a half years, which coincided with the first years of World War I. In this interlude I had my first brush with dialect diglossia, or dilexia, as I have called it. Even though I could communicate with my new agemates, the children of the neighboring farms, my American Norwegian was not adequate. I quickly perceived that they used words that I did not know and forms that differed from those I had learned among the Norwegians of Sioux City. So I had to unlearn the "interlanguage" of my American environment, not only "relexify" it by replacing its English loans with Norwegian terms, but also adopt a stricter grammatical form of the dialect itself, one less influenced by the standard language.

The pressure for linguistic conformity was not overpowering, but it expressed itself in the usual way, through laughter and the unthinking cruelty of children to one another. They sometimes asked me to talk English, so they could hear what it sounded like, long before the subject had been introduced into the schools. But I refused from sheer fear of ridicule. In two years I hardly used English at all, except in monologues while playing by myself, and on our return I had acquired a noticeable Norwegian accent in my English. So once more I went through the process of overcoming deviations in the language and bringing my English back to midwestern standards.

Once these problems were overcome, I had in fact internalized two codes for production, and several varieties for reception. One code was a relatively pure Norwegian dialect, the other a relatively pure American dialect. I say "relatively" only because the term "pure" implies a perfection which I would be far from claiming: I should perhaps have used a more technical term, e.g. natively acceptable. They were constantly reinforced by opportunities for use with native speakers. Among my parents' friends, and in the family particularly my father, I could count on the opportunity to show off my new Norwegian dialect. And of course, my English was quickly reestablished to the level of my agemates in the grammar school.

From my eleventh year forward life proceeded along two entirely different tracks: on the one hand home and family, with their friends and fellows in the Norwegian Lutheran Church to which we belonged and in which we were very active; on the other hand the American public school and the friends I made there, along with such activities as scouting, which I shared with them. For my Norwegian this meant that my parents were pursuing their goal of making me able to use standard Norwegian, i.e. the literary language, technically the Dano-Norwegian which has become the modern "Book Language" (bokmål) of Norway. In school

I was of course given no support or encouragement for my "foreign" language; on the contrary, my mastery of it was neglected and if anything discouraged, at least until I got into high school. But I can truthfully say that it did not hold me back in my acquisition of standard written and spoken English; I recall occasional "interferences" in my written essays, as when I wrote "on Iceland" instead of "in Iceland", or in speech with hard words, as when I pronounced horizon as < hor´izon >. But this was no worse than the illiteracies of most of my agemates, whose scholastic inadequacies could not be accounted for by any "foreign" background. On the contrary, I took to English language and literature, and even grammar, with the greatest avidity because of the realization of the possibilities of language that my Norwegian experience had given me.

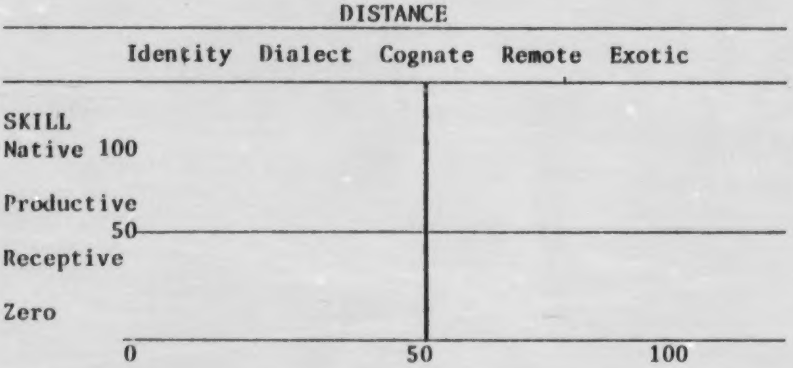
By the time of the generally accepted crucial threshold of puberty I had in effect acquired five codes: a high and a low register of American English, the literate and the vulgate; a local Norwegian dialect in two varieties, the native and the Americanized contact dialect; and an approximation to standard Norwegian in speech and writing. It is hard to say at this point to what extent each of these codes was productive or receptive: suffice it to say that I was clearly conscious of their existence and the problem of keeping them apart.

My reason for recounting this personal background is to illustrate the correlation between one's learning and one's social experience of group living. American English grew out of my experiences with my playmates and my teachers in an urban American setting, dialect Norwegian with my immigrant parents and my Norwegian playmates, and standard Norwegian with my parents as representatives of the community of cultivated Norwegians in America. In each of these settings I found satisfaction in performing functions which gave me acceptance and praise. Somewhere in this experience lies the key to the worries many people have about making their children bilingual. No harm can result if the contexts are satisfying and supportive, in which case the problems of integrating two cultures and two languages are not overwhelming to the child. Satisfactions can result which, at least in my case, have never been equaled by the various languages I have later learned in school.

But of course there were problems. How could one be both a Norwegian and an American and identify with both countries? How could one be both a dialect and a standard speaker, identifying with a rural as well as an urban environment? Linguistically, it involved a constant battle with interference, a struggle to achieve the norms of each social group. One remembers mostly the defeats, the occasional lapses that tickled the funny bones of one's listeners: when I tried to explain the difference between "soft" and "hard" water and made up a Norwegian word for "hard water" that turned out to be identical with the word for "hair tonic" (hårvann). Or the time in Norway, when as a Cultural Officer for the American Embassy, I argued with a Norwegian committee that a certain person should "sit on" the committee, when the correct Norwegian requires the preposition "in": "on" made it sound as if he would weigh it down with his physical presence. These are problems, but the rewards outweighed them: they came when Norwegians unthinkingly accepted me as a countryman.

Having put in so much effort in learning these various codes, I was naturally drawn to the profession of language teaching, to linguistics, and eventually to the specific study of bilingualism. Many had written before me about this problem, especially in Europe, but the delineation of it as a field of study was novel when I did my research. The problems and rewards I have sketched from my personal biography proved to have been shared by many millions of people around the world. The problems were not peculiar either to me or to my group, but were those of many if not most societies. There was nearly always a conflict of interest between members of different language communities. Bilingualism was ultimately a political and social problem, made manifest in the minds and hearts of the individuals who constituted these communities.

In thinking about this problem, one should try to keep the individual and the social aspects distinct. For the individual one can draw a two-dimensional diagram: on one parameter the various degrees of skill, from zero to native command, and on the other the language distance, from virtual identity to maximum difference. Both dimensions offer vast problems of definition and research, but they give us some kind of a model to keep in mind:

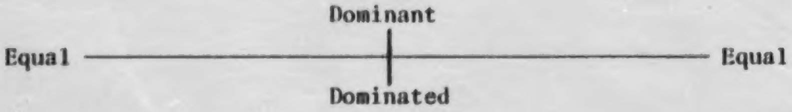


On these two scales, the difficulties rise as we move from zero to 100. By "cognate" distance I am thinking of the relation between, say, English and German, or English and French, both of which are made easier to learn by the presence of large numbers of cognates (in spite of the minor problems caused by "faux amis"). By "remote" distance I am thinking of English and Russian, which being technically cognate, have not only many cognates, but also some considerable similarity of structure. By "exotic" I am thinking of English in relation, say, to Chinese or Japanese. I found, for example, that six weeks of intensive study of Romanian enabled me to read Romanian newspapers; six weeks of Chinese did not have the same effect, alas.

As for skills, there are as many ways of defining these as there are students of the subject: but I think we can agree that one can be fluent and productive in a language without native competence. In distinguishing productive and receptive, one must of course take into account the difference between writing and speech: my experience with French has been such that I can receive writing without difficulty, but speech is virtually incomprehensible. With Italian my experience is quite different: its spoken form is easier to follow than its writing.

The social pressures that are exerted on the bilingual are of quite a different order. Here it becomes a question of the power relations between groups. Switzerland illustrates a type of bilingualism which might be called "horizontal", because there is no domination of one group over another: the federalism and the loose-jointed relation of the cantons makes each one a monolingual unit, and multilingualism becomes a problem only at the official, legislative level. (There is an exception in one canton, and this one may split as a result). Although Switzerland is the multilingual country par excellence, most people are probably monolingual (at best diglossic).

The other, and more explosive situation, is the one that we may call "vertical" bilingualism, because one language group dominates the other by occupying a social position "above" it, i.e. in terms of access to power and the benefits that flow from such access. Recent studies of minority problems have brought into focus the differing attitudes of the dominant and dominated populations to such situations. Again we can speak of two axes, horizontal and vertical:



As social planners we would like to encourage developments that would bring the dominant and the dominated closer together on a plane of equality. We would like to swing the perpendicular axis down so that it approximated more closely the horizontal one. In a way, this is what the Canadians are trying to do, as Professor McRae has so ably pointed out.

These rapidly sketched diagrams are suggestive of some of the problems that merit research. I will group these under the headings of "the community," "the methods," "the materials," and "the results." You note that I am giving priority to the community.

The problem of the community is that of creating an atmosphere favorable to bilingual education both in the dominant and the dominated population. In our Southwest this means the Anglo and the Hispanic communities, respectively. In Canada this means the English and the French communities. It is exciting to read and hear about the immersion programs for English-speaking children in French language and culture, especially as reported by Wallace Lambert, e.g. in a recent issue of the Canadian Modern Language Review (1974). The results prove without a doubt that when social attitudes are favorable, as I have been contending in this lecture, children have no serious problems in mastering two languages. One sentence in Lambert's account struck me with special force: "Priority for early schooling should be given to the language or languages least likely to be developed otherwise." This is equivalent to saying: the language of the dominated group. In Canada this means French: English-speaking children who are sent to French-speaking immersion programs suffer no serious loss in English and gain the bonus of becoming fluent in French. But note the catch in terms of our distinction between horizontal and vertical bilingualism: these programs immerse speakers of the dominant language in the language of the dominated. When children of Hispanic families in our southwest come to an English-speaking school, they, too, are being immersed. But their home language suffers because it is non-dominant in the community at large. The situations are not parallel: the school merely reinforces the community norms, instead of rectifying the injustice to the dominated gorup. What we need is immersion programs in Spanish for American children!

If we look to methods for convincing those who oppose such programs, we have to show them that they are beneficial and in no way harmful to the children. We have to prove to them that it is not un-American, unpatriotic, but that it makes America a better and happier place to live. We have to insist that this problem is one of social ecology, keeping alive the variety and fascination of our country, heading off the trend towards steamrollering everything and everyone into a single, flat uniformity. We need discussion and research on the PR problem that is here involved.

It seems to me that once we are agreed on the methods for reversing the older American trend, the materials are the next problem. We need more abundant materials at every level of education. Immersion calls for something more than just sampling a language for a few hours a week. Immersion requires living and thinking, even loving and feeling in the new language. Rote learning is not what is called for, but the kind of constant practice that enables one to learn to swim. As long as one still thinks one is liable to sink, one has not learned to swim. For the prospective bilingual, swimming in the new language means providing him with the opportunity and the ability to communicate successfully with his own as well as the other group. It is good to see that recent years have seen a new trend in this direction. I remember only too well the restraints placed on the use and teaching of non-English languages during and after World War I: this was the era of the melting-pot hysteria.

Now that laws for bilingual education have been passed by Congress and by the legislatures of many states, including my own state of Massachusetts, this is a remarkable, one may even say an astonishing reversal. Many ethnic groups that have been passing into oblivion have awakened to their heritage and are making determined efforts to keep alive something of what their ancestors brought with them to this country. The opportunity is there, and it has even been taken into account by such groups of older immigrants as the Germans and the Scandinavians. In the State of Wisconsin an ethnic museum is being built, in which it is planned to have farm buildings to represent each of the nationalities that have made up the population of that state. We need more of this kind of thing, and we need to include the component of language.

Finally, what can we hope for as results from bilingual teaching? Of course we must make sure that the weaker group gets an education that is equal in value to that of the stronger. I note in Lambert's article on the immersion programs of Canada that all the problems I mentioned earlier from my own struggles with Norwegian appear in the results of tests given to the participants. They have created what Lambert calls a kind of "immersion class French," an interlanguage in which they can produce literal calques on English, such as *"Qu'est-ce que c'est pour?"* for "What's that for?"

But why should we take such lapses too seriously? If it's wrong, the chances are that they still will be understood among French speakers who generally know a good deal of English and themselves create similar gaffes. If not, it will be ironed out when the two populations have learned to speak to one another, just as most of my un-Norwegian idioms were counteracted by social experience. The interlanguages of daily life, of the market place, may be exactly what we want them to learn, not necessarily the language of Racine or Shakespeare. The results on test scores are not invariably the ultimate proof of the success of a bilingual program. That will be found in a livelier, more vigorous group life, in reduced discrimination, in a richer experience, and, we hope, a more open society than the one we have.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

An informal and largely extempore talke like the above requires few references beyond those listed in the text. Weinreich (1953) is his Languages in Contact; detailed information on places and publishers of this and other books mentioned can be found in my contribution to volume 10 of Current Trends in Linguistics, pp. 505-591. The article by Wallace E. Lambert is "A Canadian Experiment in the Development of Bilingual Competence", pp. 108-116, vol. 31 of the CMLR. Some of my own articles published since The Ecology of Language (1972) are: "The Curse of Babel" (Daedalus 1973), "Bilingualism as a Social and Personal Problem" (Active Methods and Modern Aids in the Teaching of Foreign Languages, ed. R. Filipovic, 1972, London); "Norm and Deviation in Bilingual Communities" (Bilingualism: Psychological, Social, and Educational Implications, New York, 1977); "Language Norms in Bilingual Communities" (XII. International Congress of Linguists, Vienna, 1977).

PART FOUR:

CHALLENGING TASKS FOR THE PRESENT AND FUTURE

NEW RESEARCH GOALS:
NEEDS IN PARALANGUAGE AND KINESICS

Walburga von Raffler-Engel

NEW RESEARCH GOALS: NEEDS IN PARALANGUAGE AND KINESICS

Walburga von Raffler-Engel

Having been asked to talk about paralinguistics and kinesics in the bilingual context, I thought first of all to delimitate the area I would be able to cover within the allotted time of 45 minutes.

I should like to begin by defining the two concepts of *paralinguistics* and of *kinesics*. I shall try, then, to establish the relationship of these two aspects of communicative behavior. Subsequently, I shall attempt to correlate paralinguistics and kinesics with verbal language, analysing the relationship of each of these two aspects as it relates to verbalization. Eventually, I shall establish a larger entity consisting of the combination of paralinguistics and kinesics and warranting the broader term of *non-verbal behavior*.

It remains to be studied to what extent and in what manner such an entity operates within the conversational interaction. The unit of analysis within the conversational interaction will be the *unit of communication* (von Raffler-Engel 1974a). When I first coined this term in 1972, I intended for it to include the pertinent components of *paralinguistics* (inclusive of the *ethnography of speaking*) and that part of verbalization which has subsequently been defined as the *speech act* by Dell Hymes (1962, 1974). The *unit of communication* was also meant to include body movement. This kinesic component corresponds to Elman's *non-verbal act* (Ekman and Friesen 1972). In kinesics my approach follows essentially the theory and terminology outlined by Ekman and based on the work pioneered by Efron (1972) over thirty years ago.

It is the purpose of this paper to view each of the above mentioned aspects of *communicative behavior*, their inter-relationship and the whole *act of communication* in the light of the research needs of our *pluralistic society*. The concept of the melting pot has proved to be a sham. We are no longer attempting to reduce all ethnic groups to match one single model but--at least in theory--we accept all ethnic groups with equal dignity and respect. The first step in this direction, in my opinion, is fostering a clearer knowledge of each other to avoid misunderstandings.

We know something about the phonological and grammatical make-up of the languages and dialects spoken by the various groups which make up this country. We know very little about the ethnography of speaking, the rules which govern the structuring of discourse and the diverse presuppositions which underlie what we say. And we know next to nothing about kinesics, the gestures and other body movements which accompany conversational interaction. We also have an extremely limited knowledge of paralanguage, the sounds which are uttered during speech but are not part of the regular lexicon.

I shall try to view each of these basic components of communicative interaction, their interrelationships, and ultimately their combination in the unit of communication, in the bilingual context. First of all, they should be studied within the culture of the monolingual societies where the languages or dialects are spoken primarily, wherever such societies exist. For Black English, to cite one example, we do not find a society which is truly monodialectal. I, for one, have never met an adult individual whose primary language was Black English and who did not have a good receptive knowledge and at least a passable productive competence in Standard American English. Even where monolingual societies do exist, the additional study of non-verbal behavior within societal bilingualism is in order.

It is necessary also to distinguish between group bilingualism and individual bilingualism. The problem should also be approached within bilingual societies (and individuals) that are mono-cultural and those that are pluricultural. To do justice to research on paralinguistics and kinesics in the United States would require large teams of researchers and many years of intensive work.

Even if this were financially possible--which I doubt it is, at present--there are not enough people available who have any training at all in this type of research. There are not even enough people around who would be sufficiently competent to provide adequate training for new researchers. We have an oversupply of young scholars who can draw imaginary trees for the analysis of written language and it is not certain that these young scholars could be retrained in the complexities of analysing real spoken language as such background was totally lacking from their previous schooling. I personally would favor training anthropologists and sociologists in the proposed type of linguistic research because a considerable part of the background of these young scholars is highly applicable to work in the sociology of language and in sociolinguistics. Their attitude towards these subjects has also not been warped by the absurd dichotomy between competence and performance and a haughty disdain for empirical verification.

The term paralinguistics has become part of the common linguistic terminology only recently. It was not listed in the first glossary ever compiled primarily from a synchronic viewpoint, Mario Pei's classic of 1954 (Pei and Saynor, 1954). It also was not listed in 1966 when Hamp compiled his Glossary of American Technical Linguistic Usage 1925-1950. The latest glossary which does not carry an entry for paralinguistics is the one prepared by MacLeish in 1971.

The first separate heading for paralinguistics appeared in Pei's revised edition in 1966, and such separate headings can be found in Meetham and Hudson (1969) and Hartmann and Stork (1972).

Nash's Multilingual Lexicon of 1968 carries paralanguage giving its French equivalent as paralangue. The French glossaries (Martinet 1969, Ducrot-Todorov 1972, Larousse 1973), however, do not carry any such entry.

The French glossaries preserve the older term metalinguistique, metalinguistics, which besides its well known meaning from logic of "language about language", covered also the meaning of what is now more generally considered under the separate term of paralinguistics.

The Encyclopedia of Linguistics, Information and Control (Meetham and Hudson 1969, 685) limits paralinguistics to the phonological features excluding from it sociolinguistic features that obtain on other levels of linguistic analysis:

> PARALINGUISTICS: A complete *phonetic representation* of an *utterance* would show some features which are relatable to *segmental phonemes*, and other which are not. Of the latter, some are peculiar to the speaker--his *voice quality*--while others are conventional, in the sense that they occur in the speech of all members of the same *language community*, and are used by all according to approximately the same rules. Of these 'conventional' features, some will be used according to rules which can be seen as relatively well integrated parts of the *language system*--notably features realizing the *phonological* categories of *accent, rhythm, tone, intonation*--while others cannot; these are the *Paralinguistic features* of the utterance, and the study of them is called *paralinguistics*. They include features such as tremulous voice, clicks of annoyance, etc.

Nowhere is there a clear definition of what constitutes paralinguistics. The author of the first book which deals primarily with a survey of this subject, Mary Ritchie Key (1975, II) concludes that the term is quite "nebulous" and "hardly any two authors use the term paralanguage with the same parameters."

The oldest dictionary of linguistic terminology was compiled by Marouzeau (1961) in France in 1951. Neither the original nor any subsequent reprint contain the word meta-

linguistics, not to mention *paralinguistics*.

The above will give a general idea of the extent of the use of the term *paralinguistics*. A list of all available dictionaries of linguistic terminology in English, French, German, Spanish, Italian, and Russian up to 1969 is made available in the introductory pages of G.R. Cardona's glossary of general linguistics written in Italian (Cordona 1969).

The concept of *paralinguistics* is older than its term. Subsumed under the term *metalinguistics* as one of its aspects, it was first defined by George L. Trager (1951, 49, 7): "The full statement of the point-by-point and pattern-by-pattern relation between the language and any of the other cultural systems will contain all the 'meaning' of the linguistic form, and will constitute the metalinguistics of that culture".

In his presidential address to the Linguistic Society of America in 1950, Einar Haugen (1951) suggested that Trager adopt the term *socio-linguistics*. At that time the term did not prevail. Only later did it spread in its well known present-day meaning. It was then spelled with a hyphen while it is now more commonly written in one word.

At some time the term *exolinguistics* was proposed to separate the above meaning from the general context of *metalinguistics* but this term did not enter general usage on any lasting scale. Eventually, the term *paralinguistics* emerged and became standard. It was coined a generation ago by A.A. Hill (Key, 1975, III) who was at that time secretary of the Linguistic Society of America. The term *paralanguage* was first used in publication in 1954 by William Welmers (1954) and introduced to linguistics four years later by George Trager (1958) in a famous article of that name (Key, 10).

Trager's focus on a patterned relationship between language and culture derives from the philosophy of language pioneered by Humboldt (1970) in the early eighteen-hundreds and outlined by Bühler (1934) at the beginning of this century.

An approach which considers *speech programming* (the process of translating thought into spoken language) imbedded in the speaker's culture and *speech perception* (the process of understanding spoken language) equally conditioned by the hearer's culture is at the very antithesis of the transformational-generative paradigm. During the sixties, while this particular school of linguistics dominated American academe, many linguists neglected the study of paralinguistics and their students barely heard mention of paralanguage and sociolinguistics. Now that this unfortunate parenthesis in linguistic research has come to an end, linguists feel free again to turn to the social factors of communication.

The whole area of language-and-culture, formerly termed ethnolinguistics is now generally called sociolinguistics. After almost two decades of limbo, the study of language in its social and cultural context is now practiced with renewed vigor. Followers of the transformational-generative school are constantly joining the ranks of their former antagonists by becoming sociolinguistics themselves, while in effect rejecting their previous theoretical foundations. Many contemporary linguists avoid admission of this fact by ignoring the work of those linguists who never joined the transformation school and claiming new discoveries by simply relabelling the concepts of anthropological linguistics which earlier they had declared obsolete and superseded by new theories.

In anthropological linguistics, language is not autonomous of culture and the study of human communication is not complete without the inclusion of extra-grammatical features. Some of these features are vocal and some are movements of the body. Sometimes there is an almost arbitrary choice between a grammatical sentence or an extra-grammatical device. Frequently linguistic behavior, paralinguistic behavior, body language, and kinesics are redundant. A person may reach a pause in speaking while at the same time suspending any gestural movements. A halt in body motion was termed kinesic freeze by Key (1975, 117).

Turn-taking is investigated by Starkey Duncan (1973) who also studies the back channel signals by which the hearer notifies the speaker of his reaction to what is said and eventually of his desire to take his turn in speaking. The term back channel is a creation of Victor Yngve's (1970).

A *back channel signal* of assertion, to give an example, may be a humming sound, or it may be a nod of the head, or both at the same time. I may add that the same concept could as well be expressed vocally by "hm" or verbally by saying "indeed" or even a long sentence. Many types of human communication may be equally well conveyed by verbal language, by *extra-speech sounds*, or by body motions, or any combination thereof.

Extra-speech sounds are vocal articulations which do not constitute regular speech sounds in the language or languages of a particular conversational interaction. These sounds customarily are defined as *vocal-non-verbal*. Not all *vocal-non-verbal sounds* are outside the regular speech repertoire even though they are sometimes made up of phonemes which are not otherwise part of that language. The *hesitation sound* in English is generally *uh* and the sound which expresses a feeling of cold is *bw*.

The rubric of *vocal-non-verbal* includes also changes in pitch which do not represent obligatory contours of sentence intonation but are related to emotional states. It also includes stress for emphasis.

Silence is not necessarily non-language. A long silence before starting a conversation conveys a significant message. Speech related silence falls within the category of *pause*. There are pauses before an utterance, after an utterance, and between utterances. Pauses may be silent, or there may be *filled pauses*. *Hesitation sounds* are a type of *filled pause*. A classic example is the Japanese giggle which denotes embarrassment. The ratio of pauses to spoken utterances is called *phonation ratio*.

The rate of speech production measured in absolute time, usually by number of syllables each second, is called *speech tempo* (von Raffler-Engel 1953).

Chronemics is a term coined by Fernando Poyatos (1972) for the time of silence which elapses between questions and answers as well as for the amount of actual speaking time allotted to each individual conversant.

Although the volume of *loudness* within a conversation is dictated by cultural and social norms (von Raffler-Engel 1953), there is also a certain degree of *loudness*--or softness for that matter--which may be idiosyncratic, or due to one of the conversants being hard-of-hearing, or to a desire for secrecy.

Although these two attributes of speech volume are of very diverse origin, they are generally both classified within the category of vocal non-verbal.

Also voice qualifiers, the physical quality of an individual voice which distinguishes it from anybody else's voice, are classified as paralinguistic.

Tone-of-voice is not necessarily an individual matter. Whispering, or speaking in falsetto, in many cultures, is conditioned by rules of conversational interaction. Markel (Markel, Bein and Phillis 1973b) has shown a narrative relationship between voice and content. A content of varying degrees of anger, for example, is consistently expressed in a certain tone-of-voice. It would be interesting to see if certain voice qualities are universal for corresponding emotional states. I know of no cross-culture experiment to test this.

There are extensive cultural differences which determine when laughter is appropriate and ethnic and social groups differ greatly in the physical manifestation of laughter itself, with reference, for example, to the degree of mouth opening.

As I have consistently stated in my work on body movements, not all non-verbal expression can be classified as message-related. Some body motions, such as scratching one's head, may be due to other causes. In that instance, for example, the cause may be a physical itch due to an insect bite. One could, of course, be so intensely absorbed in listening to a speaker that one no longer is aware of any bodily feelings. These extreme cases are rare and can not easily be included in a general treatise, such as the one presented in this paper.

Coughing as a paralinguistic phenomenon is similar to laughter. Ostwald (1973) created the term non-verbal acoustic signs for message related non-verbal vocal manifestations (Key 1975, 10). He warns that one should not "consider all aspects of vocal non-verbal expressions as being in the category of signs. For example, a cough may be an acoustic sign calling attention to a person, say who is sitting quietly in the audience during a lecture. But a pattern of repeated coughing on the part of that same person or some other persons, could have additional meaning as well. For example, the individual producing the 'sign' might also be trying to 'express' a feeling e.g. of excitement, boredom, anger, etc. Or the coughing might have little to do with social communication and reflect instead an allergic or infectious response of the soundmaker." (Ostwald, 1975)

Much work is still needed to gain greater understanding of paralanguage; as language has homophones and polysemies so does paralanguage.

Discourse rules may also come under the heading of paralinguistics. In Japan, academic lecturers politely start with a disclaimer about their competence, while in the United States a joke is in order (Kunihiro 1975). In English, disclaimers are used in other contexts. One of many types of disclaimers, for example, is the credentialing disclaimer: "I am not prejudiced, but..." (Hewitt and Stokes 1975).

Rules such as the above, in my opinion, are more properly classified within the domain of the ethnography of speaking. This area includes all matters pertaining to the general organization of verbal expression and communicative exchange. Essentially, it encompasses a variety of sociolinguistic rules. This research owes it name and its official status as an independent field of inquiry to an article of 1962 by Dell Hymes. Hymes further crystallized his findings into a theoretical framework in a book of 1974. The sociology of language with regard to bilingualism and multiculturalism owes it greatest debt to Joshua Fishman (1966). The pioneer in linguistic research within inter-ethnic relations is Jacob Ornstein. A most recent book edited by Peng (1975a) deals with this subject in Japanese Society.

In 1953 Einar Haugen published the first extensive study of an immigrant language in the United States, The Norwegian Language in America. The subtitle of this book, A Study in Bilingual Behavior, was truly remarkable. Besides the linguistic analysis, the author presents a wealth of sociolinguistic information and, without using that term, gives many details in the ethnography of speaking. The idea that speech style (later termed register) is situationally determined was systematically explored for the first time by Martin Joos (1961).

Under the rubric of the ethnography of speaking I would also classify the choice of register, the type of style appropriate to a certain situation, a certain context, or inter-personal relationship, depending on age, sex, social status, and other factors which the culture considers relevant to conversational behavior.

Stylistic devices vary greatly from one group to another. In storytelling white children describe their characters by the use of adjectives while Black children provide the same information by having their characters talk in a manner through which they describe themselves (von Raffler-Engel and Sigelman 1971).

In addition to stylistic differences in the choice of descriptive devices such as the above, each culture has its own peculiar narrative and conversation styles. The Black community is especially rich in the typology of conversation styles (Kernan 1971).

The rules for dominance vary among different groups and along the time spectrum. Traditionally, in a dialogue between father and son, the father is the dominant partner. This rule is still observed within most societies but in our present age it appears that adherence is stricter within groups of recent immigrants than among middle class Americans whose immigrant origin dates of some centuries ago.

One might also consider attitudinal surveys. Certain dialects are considered inferior, as "bad," even by their own speakers. An important category are taboo words. What is taboo in one culture is perfectly acceptable in another.

To conclude, conversational behavior could be subdivided into four levels, the linguistic level proper, or verbal level, the paralinguistic level, and the level of the ethnography of speaking. The fourth level is the level of kinesics, the body movements which accompany the speech act. No linguistic analysis is complete if it leaves out any one of these levels (von Raffler-Engel 1972).

Some authors include in *paralinguistics* the body motions which occur during the speech act. For these scholars, bodily movements such as *social mannerisms*, *gestures*, *posture*, *facial mimicry*, and *eye movement* are subsumed under the heading of *kinesics*, a term coined by Ray Birdwhistell in 1952. Current trends, however, seem to favor a separation of all the attributes that make up *paralanguage*, and which have been listed above, from any bodily motion not directly connected with the physical forms of speech articulation in the mouth. I too am of the opinion that *kinesics*, rather than a subdivision of *paralinguistics* should be considered a parallel branch within the realm of *communicative behavior*.

The study of *body language* is very popular nowadays. The term *body language* was first used by Weston La Barre in 1947. Any movement of the body such as crossing one's leg when seated, or scratching one's head, tells something about the individual to the psychiatrist. In this writer's opinion (von Raffler-Engel 1975a) *body language* is not as the same as *kinesics*. Only speech-related body movement would be classified as *kinesic*. Stiffening one's posture to insure the formality of a speech situation conveys a message to the hearer while putting the right foot slightly more forward than the left foot when the feet touch the floor while one is sitting in the chair conveys no information on purpose. For this writer, only the former would qualify as *kinesic*. The latter *non-discoursive body motion* would be considered part of general *body language*.

It is, of course, impossible to draw a clear line of demarcation between body movements that are truly *kinesic* and those that are not. Sometimes it is also not quite easy to distinguish between *speech accompanying gestures* and *descriptive gestures* such as the twirling of a finger or the hand when talking of a spiral staircase. The meaning of a statement like "over there" is clarified only through the deictic gesture of pointing in a certain direction. Human communication, like all forms of human behavior, is not amenable to clear-cut divisions. The process of communication is not a well-defined system. Chomsky's assumption that verbal language is a well-defined system was one of the basic fallacies underlying his theory of linguistics (Hockett 1968).

What is a non-speech-related body movement in one culture may be kinesic in another culture. Some kinesic gestures are universal while others are semiotic. The latter are culture-bound and/or language-specific and it is therefore not possible to interpret them correctly unless one has previously acquired knowledge of their meaning in a manner similar to learning a language. The dialects of Southern Italy are especially rich in semiotic gestures.

Depending on the purpose of one's research, gestures can be classified together by the body part, or parts, involved (e.g. hand movements) or by the meaning they represent (e.g. manifestation of contempt).

Proxemics is a term coined by Edward Hall (1966) who pioneered the study of the physical distance which is measurable between the conversational partners. What is considered the normal distance between Latin people is considered an invasion of privacy among Anglo-Saxons (Hall 1959).

In some cultures men touch each other in conversation while such behavior is considered highly improper, if not downright repellent, in others. Key (1975, 102) reports the term haptics for tactile communication.

Mary Ritchie Key (1975) has prepared a whole book on the cross-culture differences in paralinguistic and kinesic behavior, some truly startling. It is my opinion that a comprehensive survey of the forms of communicative behavior within the United States would be at least as important as the preparation of a dialect atlas.

White teachers expect grade school children to establish eye contact when they talk to them and consider a child who fails to do so disrespectful. This is very confusing to the Black child for whom avoiding eye contact is a sign of respect toward a teacher.

Kinesic differences among the sexes need to be explored from both a biological and a cultural perspective.

The study of the gradual acquisition of kinesics by the child is only very recent (von Raffler-Engel 1974b) and has been termed Developmental Kinesics by this writer (von Raffler-Engel 1975c).

The development of kinesics exhibits the delicate interplay of the child's maturational curve and his gradual acquisition of the social rules which govern body movement within his culture. Japanese children gesticulate very freely when they are little (von Raffler-Engel 1975d, Peng 1975b), but will eventually suppress many of these gestures as they grow up. Italian children need to learn less self control in their body movements but will have to acquire a great many specific forms of semiotic gestures.

In reference to child development, a formulation of the basic problems in the acquisition of kinesics (excluding purely instinctive gestures from that field of study) involves the following, quite in paralleling the acquisition of verbal language:

> (1) The use of gestural means for communication is universal and innate. It remains to see if it is species-specific to man. It is possible that in man the kinetic use of specific parts of the human body (such as the head, the trunk, the hands, etc.)corresponds to the three main divisions of Osgood's semantic differential.
>
> (2) The amount and expanse of kinetic movement may be hereditary by race. In most instances the same is reinforced by culture.
>
> (3) The specific direction of each kinetic movement is culture-bound and transmitted through learning. The learning process takes place by imitation and through teaching. The proportion of these two means varies by culture and by SEC group.

The above three points can be illustrated by an example.

> (1) All peoples count with the help of their fingers. Right handed persons count on their right hand and left handed individuals make use of their left hand. This distinction holds true in most cases I have observed, but it is complicated by the fact that some persons use both hands, touching the outstretched fingers with the index of the other hand.

(2) The speed of the movement of the fingers and the posible involvement of the lower part of the hand in some kind of motion seems to differ among racial groups. My observations on wrist movement in counting are not conclusive.

(3) Some cultures start counting by stretching out the index while others begin with the thumb. It is most confusing to Europeans when Americans indicate number two by means of the index and the middle finger. Because they expect to see the thumb and the index finger for the number two, they sometimes interpret this sign as the number three.

Given that kinesics and language can be viewed as essentially similar in what is innate and what is acquired in each of these divisions of human communicative behavior, the next question arising is of how they interact during the developmental stages (von Raffler-Engel 1975a).

Research by this writer (von Raffler-Engel 1975c) shows that kinesic development is completed at about the same time that linguistic maturation is attained. The parallelism of the kinesic and the spoken mode of communication is also apparent on the intra-personal level. In addition to cultural diversity, there are individual differences in communicative behavior, like in any other form of human behavior. In filming the conversational behavior of bilingual teenagers (von Raffler-Engel 1974b) I observed the following: Two siblings, both equally fluent in French, their parental language,and English, the language of their broader environment, show striking personality differences in their kinesic behavior. Both siblings speak either language without any trace of foreign accent.

One sibling, a thirteen year old girl, gives the impression of being family-oriented. Her body movements are remarkably similar to those of her mother. When speaking French she exhibits little or no lexical interference from English.

The other sibling, a twelve year old boy, is outgoing and appears to be very much peer-oriented. Occasionally his French shows of English lexicon, and his kinesic behavior, although basically French in his gestural system, shows evidence of a strong American influence in his posture.

From the parallelism in the developmental maturation of verbalization and kinesics, and from the intra-personal parallelism of the two communicative modalities the conclusion may be drawn that communicative behavior is not only multi-channel but that the channels are finely coordinated. The coordination holds not only in regard to the speech act (which is ephemeral), or to a brief ego-state; but a permanent co-variance obtains between verbalization and kinesics in relation to the individual and his distinct personality traits. It becomes highly problematic to justify a syntactically based innate mechanism that is restricted to the spoken medium. The findings of my research would rather point to a cognitive model of the Piagetian type.

The whole process of language acquisition unfolds in a delicate interplay of maturational factors, biological elements, and cultural influences. The children learn the verbal and kinesic aspects of communication while interacting with their parents, siblings, and peers.

Kinesic movements accompany (in the vague sense of this term, implying that they may parallel, substitute, precede, or follow) the verbal manifestations. Previous research in a day care center showed that the children who were the most talkative were also the most gesticulating (Long and von Raffler-Engel 1968).

Markel (1973a) calls kinesics co-verbal behavior and Mehrabian (Mehrabian 1971, Mehrabian and Ksionsky 1971) states that the two channels are affiliative and has documented a positive correlation between the two modalities within a speech event.

There is also a constant interplay between the auditive and the visual modality. To quote Bolinger (1975, 18):

> "If language is an activity, we cannot say that it stops short at the boundary of verbal speech activity, for human actions are not so easily compartmentalized. We cannot even say that it stops at the boundaries of speech, for we are informed by our eyes as well as by our ears. And it is not always easy to tell one kind of message from the other. A person speaking on the telephone who contorts his mouth into a sneer may be heard as sneering, because the sound wave is distorted in characteristic ways; yet the hearer reacts as if he had seen the sneer rather than heard it. Audible gesture and visible gesture have many points in common"

The multi-cultural and multi-lingual individual is generally also multi-kinesic. The classic example is Fiorello Laguardia who was mayor of New York City in the forties. His gestural system has been described by David Efron (1972, 196). Efron's text and pictorial documentation constitute the first scientific study of the sort. (Refer to next page.)

Mayor Laguardia was raised in a tri-lingual--tri-cultural environment. His father was of Italian descent and his mother was a Jewess of Eastern European background. Laguardia himself grew up in Arizona and eventually was trained in political oratory. Having acquired English, Yiddish, and Italian in childhood, he spoke these three languages with native accent and exhibited equally native gestures in them. Like every individual, he had his own peculiar voice qualifiers, and his own peculiar personality traits in body motions.

Laguardia was tri-lingual, tri-cultural, and tri-kinesic. He was equally "at home" in three worlds. His case is not unique and I have met others like him. It is shown that equilingualisms, native competence in each of a bilingual's languages, is common when the languages are acquired in childhood but cannot generally be obtained after puberty. The same holds true for the acquisition of kinesics (von Raffler-Engel 1974b, 1975).

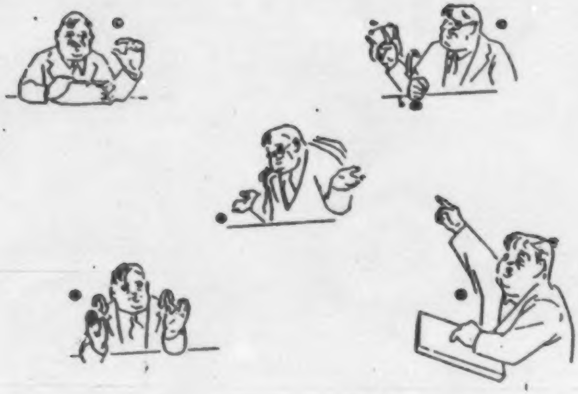


Fig 77: Mayor Laguardia (The Little Flower), sketched at Board of Estimate meetings and at a political rally. His general background is well enough known including his early work as interpreter for one to realize the influences of his polylingual background, his cosmopolitan environment, and his political training in oratory. His mother was a Jewess, his father an Italian musician, and his early background and schooling was in Arizona. He gesticulated frequently, using his animated face, head motion, and hands. (1)Entirely Italian in form, with a distinctly pornographic content, although I am sure it is not used as such by him; (2)a."I resent that...", Italian type of gesture, chiefly because of tempo, and b."This was the biggest snow we've had in...", typical American gesture--note contrast and combination; (3)"I can't do anything...", a rejective type of gesture, typical of both Italian and Jew, made fleetingly; (4)"These are the facts...", there is some Italian character in this gesture; (5)"... but...", oratorical in character, made while delivering a public speech.

David Efron, Gesture, race and culture. The Hague: Mouton, 1972. (By permission of the publisher.)

It is somewhat puzzling that the kinesic behavior of bilinguals, so far, has hardly been studied at all. It is especially intriguing in the realm of societal bilingualism where it seems that members of the minority group tend to behave differently from members of the majority group (von Raffler-Engel 1973).

Before the term kinesics was adopted for the study of the various types of expressive bodily movements the term gestures was used and extended to all bodily motions including facial mimicry and eye movement. Indeed, Gesture and Environment was the original title of the first work dealing with body movement in the social context. It appeared in 1941 and its author was an Argentine sociologist, David Efron (1972). This landmark book was reprinted in 1971 with a preface by today's foremost researcher in kinesics, Paul Ekman, who states that the methods used by Efron were "unique for his time and exemplary for ours" and that he is "not just a brilliant pioneer...(but also)...a current, major and, in some ways, still unique contributor to the new rapidly growing field of research into facial expression and bodily movement in social interaction."

Efron's work (1972) has been appreciated to its full extent only quite recently. When it first came out in the forties, the work was recognized but never obtained wide acceptance. At that time linguists were so concerned with the details of linguistic description they sometimes missed issues of broader interest. In the early fifties, Birdwhistell (1952) produced a notational system in line with the theoretical issues of that time. Birdwhistell's work received wide acclaim and has remained fairly well known. The scope of Efron and Birdwhistell is quite different. My own work is more in line with Efron's approach but this is frankly a choice of my personal interests. In the late fifties, linguists shied away all together from empirical observation. Language development was deemed to be totally innate; culture was irrelevant. It was only after this trend was superceded in the seventies, that Efron's book became accessible to a wider audience.

The relationship between language and kinesics is most complex. On the one hand, kinesic behavior appears to be more strongly related to culture than to language. Research by French has shown that gestural communication is most effective within a speech community, and particularly between peers. Such communication is less effective outside one's speech community and between individuals within a twenty-year difference in age (French and von Raffler-Engel, in press).

The basic problems in language or dialect switching may tentatively be listed as follows:

(1) Does code switching in the language necessarily accompany kinesics code switching, and vice versa?

(2) Is kinesic code switching synchronous, or are there delays? If so, which modality precedes the other?

(3) Are (1) and (2) universal, or are there linguistic and cultural differences? If so, are those differences inherent in the system of the kinesics or of the language? Are these differences due to cultural, social, attitudinal, or interpersonal factors?

(4) How do kinetic interferences correlate with linguistic interferences?

(5) Can kinetic and linguistic interferences be traced to the same causes?

(6) How does the development of language and kinesics correlate? Leaving second language acquisition completely out of the picture, are there differences between the dominant and the secondary language and/or culture in bilinguals?

(7) Is it possible to have dominance in one linguistic code and at the same time in the kinetic code that usually belongs to the secondary language?

(8) Is it possible to have linguistic interference without kinetic interference, or vice versa?

(9) Are there kinetic pidgins that accompany full languages, or vice versa? Under such conditions, will the pidgins creolize or revert to the full system that is generally associated with the accompanying language or kinesics, as the case may be?

(10) Is the subject and person division of linguistic bilingualism equally valid for kinetic bilingualism? In any case, does the same division apply to both language and gesture within the individual?

(11) Are there societal kinetic systems comparable to the well documented societal bilingual languages?

(12) In a bilingual community, can one group keep his language and his kinesics, while the other group keeps his language but has fully adopted the other kinetic system? (von Raffler-Engel 1973)

On the other hand, the tie between articulatory movements and body-rhythm has been established by many researchers (notably Condon and Sanders 1974). Rhythmic arm movements or foot tapping is obviously connected with the verbal expression of the speaker and/or the hearer. A typical example of the coincidence of kinesic and paralinguistic behavior was discovered in a recent study of television news reporting (Sisk and von Raffler-Engel 1975). Walter Cronkite frequently blinks while uttering the syllable which carries his sentence stress.

It is obvious that the position of neck and torso has an automatic effect on the larynx and on the channeling of air from the lungs. A person seated in a crouched manner with his head bowed can scarcely be expected to speak loud and clear. Key (1975, 129) brings out that proxemics influences articulation. Speaking from a distance one has to use "careful, precise articulation."

The relationship between spoken language (verbal and paralinguistic) and body language can be summarized as follows: There is a certain amount of mechanical connection between the two modes. This is obvious in articulation. It is also physically next to impossible to say in a gentle, soothing voice "I like it very much" with the emphatic stress and pitch on "very" while angrily pounding one's fist on the table at the time the word "like" is uttered. This does not imply that there cannot be disagreement between the modalities. It does not even require great effort to falsely utter a loving statement accompanied by gestures which normally denote a daring disposition. The mechanical coordination is not based on the impossibility to combine what naturally--and morally--does not co-occur. Nevertheless, the lies of the body do not come as easily as the lies of the mouth. Frequently the expression of the eyes gives away the true intention of the deceiver. What appears to be beyond man's biological possibilities is the dysynchrony of body rhythm. The human organism can cope with only one rhythm beat at a time. Body rhythm involves breathing and heart beat.

Languages differ in syllable structure, intonation contour, and stress patterning. Monolingual children grow up in a one-to-one relationship between language and body movement. Bilingual children probably have two sets of such one-to-one relationships. A monolingual adult learning a second language has to cope with a rhythmic structure which is foreign to his biological make-up.

We know that speech tempo varies among languages. Speakers of Romance languages produce more syllables per second than speakers of the Germanic tongue. Yet of the body rhythm we know next to nothing. It is possible that this is what cuases more cross-cultural misunderstandings than other factors of which we are more aware, and to which we may be less sensitive. The violation of our customary private space or of our public space, the straining of our ears by listening to a language that is spoken more softly or louder than ours may be far less irritating than when we feel forced into an unaccustomed body rhythm by the demands of interactional synchrony.

Foreign language teachers have always complained that linguistics does not give them enough useful information. Maybe they just do not know how many more problems they would have if they really studied linguistics . . . They may have to enlist the gym coach and members of the drama department to help teach their beginning classes. (von Raffler-Engel 1975b).

When confronted with a foreign language, the learner does at least expect differences. Inter-dialectal communication creates misunderstandings. Being forced into an alien body rhythm by somebody one expects either not to differ greatly from oneself, or whom one expects to make an effort to conform to one's pattern may cause far greater feelings of hostility. A speaker-hearer "tunes in" correctly and is "on the same wave length" within his socio-cultural peer group. Social and cultural dialectal differences--as opposed to regional differences--may cause such extreme feelings of aversion because one does not expect them, or one does not wish to tolerate them. It is hard to conceive that the slight divergence from standard English of the sounds and the syntactics structure of an ethnic dialect can cause a native speaker of standard English to feel so extremely uncomfortable. It is much more likely that it is not the verbal features that cause the irritation but the fact that in order to sustain a verbal interaction the conversational partners have to adjust to a common body rhythm.

Two persons can sustain a conversation while jogging; a person that has been jogging and only recently come to a standstill can communicate with a person who has been standing still all the time only after his accelerated heartbeat has gone back to normal (Erikson 1973). Communication cannot obtain between two persons whose body rhythm is at a totally different pace.

Each culture, and each subculture, has its own unique structure of communicative organization. The linguistic system, the paralinguistics system, the ethnography of speaking, and the system of kinesics interact, and it is the combination of these components which makes for the distinctiveness of each language, dialect, and sociolect.

I have been asked to suggest new research goals to this group of specialists in bilingual education and in foreign language teaching. My suggestion for the researcher is to work with more visual material, to record the data by video tape or film so that he can discover the kinesic system besides the vocal systems. I would also suggest that informants be not only passively recorded, but that they be actively interviewed and asked about the etiquette of social interaction in order to gain insight into their ethnography of speaking.

For the language teacher I would suggest that he explain body rhythm to his students. I would also suggest that after teaching the form of language some class room time be devoted to studying the use of language. I realize that good teachers have been doing this all along, I just would like it more explicitly included in the final tests. As long as tests are primarily--if not exclusively--concerned with the form of language, students tend to regard information on language use as less important, only incidental.

For the teaching of standard English to speakers of other varieties of English, I believe that awareness of body rhythm and kinesics could be most helpful. The emphasis here is never to forget that everybody's dialect and everybody's body rhythm is as good as anybody else's, as different as it might be. (von Raffler-Engel and Hutcheson 1975d).

For those unfamiliar with the methodology of producing films or videotapes for the purpose of analysing the relationship of the spoken language to kinesics, I refer to a written description of the methods which I have used in research and analysis. This methodological approach was first presented at the International Congress of Methods in Dialectology at the University of Prince Edward's Island in Canada in 1972 and then in an amplified version at the International Congress of Semiotic Sciences in Milano, Italy in 1974 (von Raffler-Engel 1974c). More easy to follow is the step-by-step audio-visual description which constitutes the first part of a film on Children's Acquisition of Kinesics which I produced for the Golden Anniversary of the Linguistic Society of America in 1974 (von Raffler-Engel 1974b). The film is distributed by Campus Film Distributors in New York. The written description provides a brief bibliography on methodological details worked out by previous researchers. Funding for this type of research is generally requested from governmental and state agencies. This type of work requires considerable time and effort, not to speak of expensive equipment. It should not be undertaken before the researcher has gained some expertise in the field of sociolinguistics and has made himself thoroughly familiar with the methods of audio-visual production.

For the psycholinguist, research in kinesics is most important. We know so little about this subject because in the recent past most time and effort has been devoted to document an erroneous theory according to which language was studied as if it were an autonomous uni-modal process when in reality spoken language can only be understood within the multi-channel process of communication.

By observing the kinesic behavior of a speaker we can gain further insight into what might constitute a psycholinguistic prime. Communication is multi-channel (Birdwhistell 1970) and looking at the kinesic channel may allow us to make inferences on language without the prejudice of any theory of language we might follow. While evaluating a series of videotapes of seven children between the ages of three and thirteen and two sets of parents I became increasingly aware of the fact that adults and children do not manifest any particular kinesic change at the end of a sentence (von Raffler-Engel 1974b). They do, however, exhibit a marked change in posture when the conversation reaches a new topic. Subtopics generally elicit only a slight head movement. The examples for both topics and subtopics are very numerous and easily identified.

Over ten years ago, Albert Sheflen (1964, 320) made a similar observation in this connection. Dependent on the position of the head and the movement of the eyes, he noted "changes of position of head and eyes 'every few sentences' and believes that these shifts mark the end of a structural unit within a discourse. He calls these observable shifts, the Point, the Position, and the Presentation, which seem to be roughly equivalent to what we might call the paragraph, the section, and the chapter," (Summary by Key 1975, 37).

What ultimately structures human behavior in communicative interaction is the meaning of the message which is being exchanged.

To get a message clearly across it may be best to convey it "to each nation in its language and to each people in its script" as suggested by the Book of Esther. This passage contains the first mention of multiculturalism and plurilingualism (Fishman 1975).

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HOLD THAT TIGER!

URGENT NEEDS IN BILINGUAL EDUCATION

Ronald K. S. Macaulay

HOLD THAT TIGER!
URGENT NEEDS IN BILINGUAL EDUCATION[1]

Ronald K. S. Macaulay

There is an old Chinese proverb which says: 'If you want to make tiger stew, first catch your tiger'. Most discussions of research priorities in bilingual education tend to offer advice of a similar sort. We are likely to be told that before starting a bilingual program we need accurate knowledge about the two languages, including detailed descriptions of the different varieties of each language spoken in different parts of the country. We need careful community studies of bilingual areas, including investigation of the attitudes towards both languages that prevail in the community. We need to develop special teacher training programs for bilingual teachers and before we can properly staff them we need special programs to train the teacher trainers. We need to investigate the relationship of language and bilingualism to different learning styles. We need to investigate the psychodynamics of biculturalism. We need to explore different approaches to bilingual instruction in the classroom. We need to develop adequate methods of assessment for bilingual programs. And so on. And so on. The list is not endless but it is long. I agree that we need all these things because I spent part of the summer of 1974 as a member of a team looking into such matters. However, it will take a long time to accumulate all the information we need. Meanwhile, those who are waiting for the tiger stew may be getting rather hungry.

Even with the efficient use of all available resources it may take a long time to catch the tiger, and I am far from convinced that the most efficient use is being made of all the available resources. In 1975 I had this fantasy that one day I would get a telephone call from some very influential gentleman in Washington, D. C. who would say something like this:

> VIG: 'Look, Ron, we've got this little problem. There are all these people clamoring for bilingual education, and we really don't have the slightest idea what to do.'
>
> RM: 'I know.'
>
> VIG: 'Well, you know we've got this bicentennial coming up next year, and we'd like to have something good to show people.'
>
> RM: 'You can't expect me to care about that.'
>
> VIG: 'No, we realize that, but we thought that perhaps you could give us a few pointers, just to get us off on the right lines.'
>
> RM: 'I'm sorry. You should have asked George Sanchez back in 1934. He knew what needed to be done, and if you'd listened to him then, you might, you just might have been ready for 1976, but it's too late now.'

He did not call, and if he had I probably would not have had the guts or the heart to say it, but I get alternately furious and depressed when I think of the time that has been wasted and how even today, forty years after Sanchez had pointed out the needs so clearly, there is still no coherent approach to the problems of bilingual education. In 1974 I was very conscious of the vast amount of work that must be done if bilingual education is to be placed on a firm footing, and I felt very strongly the urgency of the task. Nearly four years later I hope that more has been achieved than I am aware of because when so much needs to be done the passing of time without significant progress does not merely leave things where they were; it means that faster progress must be made to catch up with where we should be. Moreover, since what we are talking about is not something academic like the motion of the stars or the definition of beauty but is, instead, the well-being of actual children at present in the schools, any unnecessary delay may result in a waste of human talent which is both uneconomic and immoral. Thus, while I agree that the research activities I mentioned earlier are valuable in themselves and of great potential benefit to bilingual education in the long run, we cannot afford to wait until all the evidence is in. If it takes too long to catch the tiger, perhaps we ought to try some other dish first.

This does not mean abandoning research; that would be fatal, in my opinion. However, what I would like to see is closer cooperation between those engaged on research and those involved in the day-to-day business of schools, both teachers and administrators. By this I do not simply mean that every bilingual program should have its friendly professor who drops in from time to time to offer advice and to collect the results of the latest tests for his own research--though cooperation even at this level would probably be beneficial to both sides. What I have in mind is a greater sharing of responsibility so that both the researchers and the school personnel have an ongoing interest in the success of the program. The advantages of this kind of cooperation are probably self-evident but in order to emphasize the point I will spell out some of them in detail.

It is a depressing but widely accepted view that federal and state aid to schools has had less impact on the programs than might have been expected from the sums of money distributed. Explanations for this state of affairs are not hard to find. For example, it has been pointed out (Pincus, 1974) that public schools are monopolistic public utilities somewhat like the telephone, electricity, and gas services, with the major difference that it is much harder for the consumer to know what he is getting for his money. Consequently, it is not surprising that schools have been characterized as 'self-perpetuating bureaucracies' (Pincus: 1974:115) which usually prefer the appearance of change to change itself. In a rather disturbing comparison between the public schools and private competitive firms, Pincus points out that the public schools are

1) more likely to adopt cost-raising innovations because there is no simple way to test the value of the innovation in relation to its cost;

2) less likely to adopt cost-reducing innovations unless the funds saved become available for other uses within the district;

3) are less likely to adopt innovations which significantly change the numbers or kinds of personnel employed;

4) are more likely to adopt innovations which do not significantly change the institutional structure;

5) are less likely to adopt innovations which change the accustomed authority roles and established ways of doing business;

6) are equally as unwilling as private competitive firms to face large-scale encroachments on protected markets.

You may find the marketing analogy somewhat distasteful, as I do myself, but Pincus's observations deserve careful scrutiny. In planning a bilingual program it is not enough to look only at the linguistic and pedagogical aspects of the program. It is also necessary to look at the dynamics of the school system into which the program is to be introduced, since the success or failure of the program may depend as much on that situation as on the quality of instruction offered. Pincus's article is too complex to be summarized here but one of his suggestions to combat the inevitable conservatism of the public schools is for closer cooperation between those engaged in research and the school district administrators. In particular, he emphasizes the need for researchers to work closely with the school staff during the period when a new program is being implemented.

However, it is not only the schools that would benefit from this cooperation. In reviewing some of the literature on research into bilingualism and bilingual education for a report to the National Insitute of Education (Ramirez, et al., 1977), I was saddened by the gap between much of the research and possible practical applications in bilingual programs. To say this is not to denigrate the value of such research since any contribution to the stock of human knowledge is worth while and potentially useful, but for those involved in planning or administering bilingual programs and who are seeking guidance there was regrettably little to report. This need not be the case. In a recent article on linguistics and second-language pedagogy, Glyn Lewis observes:

> In the Soviet Union the investigation of second language problems is pursued in normal complex classroooms...a considerable amount of the most seminal investigation of second language problems is pursued in the experimental classes attached to teacher training colleges and institutes...
> (1974:2138)

As far as I know, this situation is rare in the United States. Bilingual programs in the schools are usually funded from one source, research projects in the universities from another. I am aware that there are some exceptions but it is only rarely that research and its practical applications are pursued in a single program. The loss is incalculable. All too often researchers investigate problems in artificial settings and extrapolate their findings to the real world; meanwhile educators struggle with their all-too-real problems and wonder to what extent their pragmatic decisions are theoretically justified. Some kinds of research are no doubt best pursued in the ivory tower but for bilingual education the solution seems obvious. Bilingual education programs should not be funded without some affiliation to an institution of higher learning which would act both as a resource center and as an instrument of on-going evaluation. At the same, research into bilingual education should not be funded unless it makes use of existing programs as the source of subjects and data. Such a policy would force both sides to pay attention to what the other is doing, with a high probability of benefits to both.

However, even if there were more cooperation between researchers and the school staff, the needs would not stop there. Just as important, if not more important is the need for a more coordinated overall approach to bilingual eduaction. Even today, it seems to me there is still a grave risk of extensive duplication of effort because of a lack of awareness not only of what is being done in other parts of the country but also even of what is happening just down the road. What is needed is an effective central office of bilingual education with regional offices throughout the country. It need not be a funding agency itself but it could act as a source of vital information to the funding agencies, identifying areas in which new funding is needed and keeping a watchful eye on those funds that have been distributed. To a certain extent this may be happening through the Title VII program, but what I am suggesting is not simply setting up dissemination centers and making materials and information more readily available, though these are useful functions too. What I have in mind is an office staffed by highly-trained professionals capable of taking the initiative in starting new programs, modifying or even terminating existing ones, and generally coordinating the work being done in bilingual education in a particular region.

An essential ingredient in the success of such an office, it seems to me, is continuity of personnel, since what is wanted is someone who will still be around after ten years to take a pride in his successes and feel the pain of his mistakes. Funding on a year-to-year basis militates against such continuity of staffing, at least while there is still some job security elsewhere in the academic world. At present, I have a suspicion that many legislators are hoping that with the allocation of enough money the problem of bilingual education will go away. Thus, it is best to allocate the funds on a year-to-year basis, since the money may not be needed a few years from now. This seems to me a totally mistaken perception of the situation. Bilingual education is not almost at the point of being phased out; on the contrary, it is only beginning to be established and it is going to be around a lot longer than any of the present legislators on Capitol Hill. Thus, it is high time there was a coherent, long-range plan for bilingual education in the United States, covering the next five, ten, or even twenty years. Year-to-year funding provides little encouragement for long-range planning and every incentive to use the funds to meet immediate short-range goals. This is not a rational way to proceed.

Moreover, as Fishman (1976) and Gaarder (1977) have recently emphasized, the characteristics of the bilingual program in the school are probably less important than the relationship between the school and the community. For this reason, each community must decide what its immediate and long-range goals are. For example, Kjolseth (1972) contrasts two models of bilingual education programs. One, which he labels 'assimilationist,' seeks to remove the obstacles which deny the member of a minority language group equality of opportunity in the educational system. The ultimate goal of such a program, as the name implies, is the total assimilation of the members of the minority language group into the dominant culture. The other model, which Kjolseth labels 'pluralistic,' seeks to maintain the minority language and culture while at the same time providing unhindered access to the dominant language and culture. The ultimate goal of such a program is to produce individuals who are truly bilingual and bicultural. It would not be proper for me (nor, I think, for any outsider) to suggest which is the appropriate goal for any community. That can only be decided by the members of the community themselves, since any attempt to foist upon the community a program that is inconsistent with its wishes and aspirations is probably doomed to failure in the long run. However, it is unrealistic to expect the members of the community to make their decision on rational grounds unless they are in possession of all the relevant information in a form which can be understood by the average person. Consequently, one of the most urgent tasks is the preparation in an accessible and comprehensible form of an account of what is known as to the costs and benefits of bilingualism, both for the individual and for the community as a whole.

In conclusion, I wish to emphasize that I am not against 'pure research' that is, research which does not appear to have immediate practical applications. We do not know at this time enough about language to be sure that some piece of information will not turn out ultimately to be useful. However, it is a question of priorities. The immediate needs of bilingual education programs are not being met or even investigated by much of the research in linguistics today and that is a most unhappy state of affairs. To return to the metaphor with which I began. I look forward to enjoying the tiger stew as much as anyone but in the meantime let's keep the stockpot going with whatever we can find to put in it. It may not be a gourmet dish, but if it provides some nourishment that is badly needed, it will be invaluable; but to get the most nourishment we need everyone who can to contribute to the pot.

NOTE

[1] This is a slightly revised version of a talk given at the University of Texas at El Paso in 1975.

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INTERDISCIPLINARY ASPECTS OF BILINGUAL EDUCATION

Robert St. Clair

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Robert St. Clair

INTRODUCTION

When linguists were first confronted with some of the problems of bilingualism, they almost instinctively perceived these language-related issues in structural or formal terms. Following the tradition of Weinreich (1953), any contact between languages were explained within the framework of a theory of language interference (Lieberson, 1966). Lacking a broad perspective of the issues of bilingualism, linguists were participating unknowingly as advocates of the melting pot hypothesis (Crevecoeur, 1782), and were oblivious to the rationale behind the movement for compensatory education (Deutsch, 1967; Johnson, 1970; Passow, 1963; and Riessman, 1962).

Only recently have linguists become aware of the moral and social implications of their efforts within the large context of social engineering (Cazden, et al., 1972; Giglioli, 1972; Keddie, 1973; and Spolsky, 1972). Unfortunately, many linguistits still remain oblivious to their participating in the process of assigning institutional labels to children (Apple, 1975; Cicourel, et al., 1974), and what is even more insidious is that they are still unaware of their role in the creation and maintenance of the prophecy of self-fulfillment (Rosenthal and Jacobsen, 1968) associated with this pejorative act.

What all of these issues demonstrate is the need for linguists to explore language-related issues in a broader framework which necessarily transcends the narrow confines of their academic training. This requires, in great measure, explorations into the contemporary paradigms of social history, educational foundations, social psychology, and educational theory. Some of these broad areas of scholarship are reviewed in general terms by way of introduction to non-linguistic solutions to language-related problems.

THE MELTING POT HYPOTHESIS

Richard Hofstadter (1955) has convincingly demonstrated that the United States was born in the country; and that from its inception, its political values and ideas were of necessity shaped by the agrarian myth of the yeoman farmer with his quest for independence, his respect for equality, and his desire for self-sufficiency. It was at this time that writers like Thomas Jefferson and Hector St. Jean de Crevecoeur (1782), in particular, glorified the virtues of agrarian society. This romantic view of man in nature had its origin in the literary tradition of a classical education with its pastoral poetry, and became a dominant motif in American history chiefly through the English writers. What is of particular importance about this period of history for bilingual education, however, can be found in the writing of Crevecoeur and his advocacy of the melting pot hypothesis.

> "What then is the American, this new man? He is either a European, or the descendant of a European, hence that strong mixture of blood, which you find in no other country. I could point out to you a family whose grandfather was an Englishman, whose wife was Dutch, whose son married a French woman, and whose present four sons have now four wives of different nations. *He* is an American, who leaving behind all *his* prejudices and manners, receives new ones from the mode of life he has embraced, the new government he obeys, and the rank he holds. He becomes an American by being received in the broad lap of our great *Alma Mater*. Here individuals of all nations are one

> melted into a new race of men, whose labours and posterity will one day cause great change in the world."
>
> (Crevecoeur, 1912:43)

It is now obvious that the panegyrists of the melting pot hypothesis favored a biological and cultural amalgamation of the northern Europeans, but excluded others.

> "Furthermore, this version of the melting pot omitted from consideration two indigenous peoples, the native American and the Mexicans of the Southwest, as well as that group forcibly brought to America, the black America."
>
> (Ramirez and Castañeda, 1974:6-7)

It is this exclusive group of White Anglo-Saxon Protestants whose ideological system has dominated the mainstream of American life, and provided the basis for a policy of total assimilation in cultural values (Banks, 1975:3-9).

The concept of Social Darwinism (Hofstadter, 1944) was associated with this exclusive version of the melting pot. Despite its liberal overtones, it contained a hidden message of cultural superiority: the child who has not melted is not good enough and is not part of that which the mainstream considers nobler and finer (Ramirez and Castañeda, 1974:7). When the Spencerian doctrine of Social Darwinism came under attack during the age of reform only to be replaced by the Populist movement (Hofstadter, 1955), a similar reaction to the melting pot hypothesis occurred. This took the form of a new ideology, viz., the concept of cultural pluralism (Kallen, 1915). Within this new framework, the term "equal" was singled out from the Declaration of Independence and interpreted as an affirmation of the right to be different. Hence, cultural pluralism reflects an ecology of language and culture.

This policy has not been effectively adopted, and it appears that the United States may be on the verge of the rise of pluralism as a consequence of the decline of White ethnicity and the Portestant ideal (Greenbaum, 1974).

Unfortunately, most American linguists are still naive about these aspects of social history and continue to advocate the ideology and the nomenclature of the melting pot hypothesis. As Fishman and Lueders-Salmon (1972) have astutely shown in their work on the sociology of language, for example, Americans continue to misconstrue the developmental aspects of linguistic diversity, and they even suggest that linguists in this country may have created their own educational problems by their attempts to mainstream bilingual anc bicultural students prematurely. In Europe, they argue, linguistic diversity is tolerated while children gradually assimilate toward the mainstream culture and adopt the standard dialect of the country. They are given the opportunity to develop a receptive competence of their school dialect before exacting performance in the classroom is stringently enforced. Due to a strong emphasis on total assimilation and a rigid intolerance toward diversity, bilingual and bicultural children are severely chastized in this country for not having an immediate productive command of the language of the school, and linguists have been instrumental in enforcing this policy by their failure to envision language-related problems outside of the domain of their academic training. Some linguists are content to provide descriptive formulas of linguistic differences; and other insist on monotonous drills based on a theory of language interference. Both groups, however, fail to see the problem from a broader interdisciplinary context in which social and political history play major roles.

THE MYTH OF SOCIAL MOBILITY

For at least a century, reputable scholar in the history of education have been promulgating the view that the public school system in this country is the basic instrument by which the working class can advance within the social structure of American life (Cubberley, 1909; Cremin, 1961; 1965). Waves of financially desolate immigrants, we are told, have come to this country in search of the American dream and have found it in the genius of our educational system (Cremin, 1965). This argument is used against native Americans, Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, Cubans, and Blacks who fail within our economic system. Their motivation for self improvement is questioned. These claims have been seriously challenged by Collin Greer (1972), Michael Katz (1971), John Mann (1975), and other historiographers of education. There is no evidence, they argue, in favor of the traditional interpretation of the American school policy. In fact, it turns out that there is an abundance of evidence against it. The dropout rate among the immigrants in this country ranges from forty to sixty per cent over the last century (Greer, 1972; 1973; and Karier, et al., 1973), and those who complete their basic education have not been advanced, but remain as part of the working class (Illich, 1970). Collin Greer (1973) considers the distinction between the alleged successful immigrants and other ethnic groups a subterfuge. It hides the fact that the real problem is political in nature, because the school system serves and protects the interest of the ruling class. Illich (1970) agrees with this view and has advocated the separation of social control of the school by his program of deschooling society. If these scholars are correct in their assessments of our educational system, it dramatizes the need for interdisciplinary research and demonstrates the fact that the solution to problems in bilingual education are partly political in nature.

A similar interpretation of the British school system can be found in the writing of Dennis Lawton (1975). He describes their system as one in which two separate school systems were in existence with its own special curricula. The elitist were schooled in the classical foundations of

Latin and Greek, and they knowingly used this knowledge as a badge of their exclusive rank. All other children were schooled in those basic skills that would enable them to understand simple written instructions and to successfully perform elementary calculations. These were the skills necessary for a competent labor force, and it was in the purview of the educational system to provide the market. In 1944, however, the British school system allegedly moved toward egalitarian education, but the polemics of the political and social role of the school still continues. Lawton, I might mention, arrives at a different conclusion from our historians of education. He contends that the schools should concern themselves with imparting a common culture rather than the dictates of a special class. He predicates this view on the assumption expressed by Karl Mannheim (Wolff, 1971) that different social classes in the community are limited by their environment and experiences in the perception of reality. As a consequence, he argues, they are also limited in their access to knowledge. The schizophrenia of the citizenry can be resolved, he concludes, by the development of a common curriculum. Lawton's approach of incorporating the sociology of knowledge (Berger and Luckman, 1966; and Holzner, 1968) is appealing, and may even provide an alternative to the deschooling of society (Illich, 1970). In this country, Aaron Cicourel (1974) and his associates (Cicourel, et al., 1974; and Turner, 1974) have complemented the work of Lawton (1975) in their investigations of the methods of selection within the school system.

COGNITIVE SYTLES

Another view which should have implications for bilingual education, and which is concomitant with the work of Lawton (1975) can be found in the work of Ramirez and Casteñada (1974). They provide some interesting evidence in substantiation of the claim that children who are raised in different cultural settings develop a pattern for coping with life, and that this special strategy which they acquire conflicts with the cognitive style of the school. This difference in cognitive styles, they argue, is the source of many problems in the bilingual classroom. The two styles that they refer to are "field independence" and "field sensitivity." The former is characteristically associated with children who tend to perceive items as discrete from the organized field which contains them. The field independent children, it is argued, are oriented towards the left cerebral hemisphere of the brain (TenHouten, 1971), and tend to do well in speech, reading, and writing. Those who are field sensitive, on the other hand, are oriented towards the right cerebral hemisphere and their forte is manifested in such gestalt tasks as music, and visio-spatial cognition. Chicanos, according to Ramirez and Castaneda (1974), are field sensitive, whereas Anglos are field independent. This fact, they argue, is at the base of many educational prob problems in the bilingual classroom. Since the school only recognizes and rewards students who are field independent, and since both cognitive styles are needed to successfully function within the spectrum of society, one can only conclude that children are all victims of compulsory mis-education. To counteract this disparity in the perceptual strategies which children use, these educational psychologists have developed and tested a training program to assist children in becoming bicognitive. Their success in this venture on many ethnic groups is now a matter of record.

CONCLUSION

This discussion of bilingual education argues for an interdisciplinary approach to language-related problems. It should be evident from some of the references cited that bilingual education is not the domain of any particular discipline at the present time, but requires the concerted effort of cognitive psychology, educational linguistics, educational foundations, and social history. Although the linguists have been singled out for discussion, a similar argument could be made for other language scientists working in the area of bilingual education.

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CORRELATING SOCIO-EDUCATIONAL AND LINGUISTIC VARIABLES AMONG CHICANO COLLEGE BILINGUALS

Jacob Ornstein-Galicia
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CORRELATING SOCIO-EDUCATIONAL AND LINGUISTIC VARIABLES AMONG CHICANO COLLEGE BILINGUALS:

A RESEARCH STUDY

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A. BACKGROUND SKETCH

A bibliography reveals extremely few research projects concerned with the behavior and attitudes of Mexican-American college students, since it is the earlier formative years which receive first priority. As is noted elsewhere in this study, the bulk of the research is concerned with public school youngsters, mostly of earlier ages. Despite this, the need remains great, given the importance of higher education in the vocational and social progress of minority groups.

Under auspices of The Cross-Cultural Southwest Ethnic Study Center created under a Spencer Foundation grant, we have carried out an investigation of the bilinguals at this university, seeking to make comparisons of them with their Anglo peers. It should be observed that our survey has been taking place in El Paso, the largest metropolitan city on the U.S.--Mexican border, with a U.S. population in 1971 of some 370,000 persons. Between 60 and 70 percent of this population is Spanish surnamed and the enrollment of Chicanos here usually averages at least a third of total enrollment.

The procedure followed aimed at securing a stratified random sample of all full-time, unmarried students from our undergraduate school population. A sample of 301 subjects was obtained, consisting of 148 Anglo and 153 Mexican-American student respondents, constituting almost 5 percent of the population described. The categories used for stratification were

Mexican-Americans vs. Anglo, sex, academic class (first year, etc.), and School of enrollment (Liberal Arts, Education, etc.) comprising some sixteen in all. Students were selected randomly within each of the categories and contacted by telephone by bilingual peers employed by our project. To all of these our Sociolinguistic Background Questionnaire (Brooks, Brooks, Goodman, and Ornstein, 1972) was administered, as well as a College and University Environment Scales (CUES) test (Pace, 1969), aimed at probing their attitudes toward this particular institution. Results from the latter instrument are discussed elsewhere (Murray, 1972a, 1972b, 1972c) and will be excluded from consideration in this particular paper. In addition, a 10 percent sub-sample was taken of the over-all sample, limited to Chicanos, who were then subjected to extensive linguistic elicitation. The purpose of this was to ascertain their fluency in Spanish and English respectively, and, with the help of answers from the Questionnaire to probe their attitude regarding regional language varieties, particularly their own.

Many investigators feel that the bilingual/bicultural context of our study lends itself to comparisons with the situation in emergent nations or the Third World. A point in support of this is that a number of the more militant ethnic movements, Black, American Indian, as well as Chicano, in their thinking and declarations disassociate themselves from the "Superpowers", preferring to align themselves with Third World forces, and indeed do participate actively in their symposia and conferences. In a volume written at this very University and titled Chicanos and Native Americans: Territorial Minorities (De La Garza, Kruszewski and Arciniega, 1973:97) some of these issues are touched upon:

> The pattern of political behavior of Chicanos and Native Americans with the U.S. political system has characteristics peculiar to these two minorities that set them apart from other American ethnic groups. They are the only minority societies that came into the U.S. nation-state as a result of expansion and territorial conquest...Chicanos and

> Native Americans, unlike any American immigrant minority or even the Blacks (who were carried or induced away from their land, property and socio-political institutions), have characteristics of a territorial minority. That concept is generally alien to the American political experience, but very familiar in the European, Asian, and African political scene of shifting borders, expanding politics, and consequent change in sovereignty over conquered territories and people.

At any rate, in the case of Mexican-Americans, many of them, particularly activists, often express themselves against "dominance" by the Anglo language, culture and power structure. Only since World War II, and especially the past fifteen years have they, however, begun to challenge such "dominance" actively. Nowhere has the struggle been fiercer than in the educational sector. Recent history here records that a few years ago Chicanos reversed dominance patterns through the election of an all-Chicano civic administration as well as school board (Crystal City, Texas). In the El Paso area, the Ysleta Independent School District has reflected constant turmoil since the suspension in the fall of 1973 of a group of Chicano activists (some since reinstated). Among their demands were increased recognition of Mexican-American language and culture, as well as culture-fair tests which would not discriminate against them. As Charles A. Ferguson and Anwar Dil observe in "Language Universals of National Development" (1973):

> In some nations of Europe and the Americas new forces of ethnicity and new demands of linguistically identified groups are posing severe problems, not only in countries such as Belgium, Canada and Yugoslavia where the tensions have long been recognized, but also in nations such as Great Britain, Spain and the United States where questions were generally assumed to be very minor.

As we have noted Spanish-speakers constitute the largest foreign-language or bilingual minority in the U.S. It would thus seem that our intention to undertake a systematic study of how socio-educational factors may correlate with bilingual/bicultural status of Mexican-Americans appears overdue. Moreover, analogies with emergent nations may be more rewarding than apparent at first blush. Suffice it to say that certain extremist factions of Chicano (as well as Black and Native American) movements even envision breaking off from United States of America--much as the Parti Independent Québecois is committed to an independent Québec in Canada. Unfortunately sociolinguistic research on Spanish-English bilinguals/biculturals has focused almost exclusively on young children, because of the concentration of government funds in this area.

At any rate, the great disparity between dominant or "mainstream" and subordinate, or minority "non-mainstream" groups is precisely in the realm of socio-economic status (henceforth, SES). It is only one step from that to state that nowhere better than in the differentiated markers of language is the distance between groups manifested, hence the advantage of studying such problems from a bi-dimensional socio-linguistic viewpoint.

At any rate, it is a truism that minority groups, in line with the Orwellian "less equal" concept, tend to fall into the lower SES, while dominant ones, be they numerically superior or not, correspond to the upper ones. A concomitant or correlate of such status is a low-prestige or badly stigmatized language variety, such as Black English of the ghettoes, or the Southwest dialect of Spanish, often referred to pejoratively as "Tex-Mex", "Border Lingo" and even less flattering terms.

Having briefly described the context in which we are working, it is time to proceed to specifics. Our points will generally be supported by charts detailing our findings.

B. SOCIAL AND OTHER CHARACTERISTICS OF THE SAMPLE

SES was studied both as a correlate of language use and as a possible indicator of the extent to which young Mexican-Americans are indeed utilizing the university as a means of achieving upward social mobility. Our procedure was to derive the SES of each student from his father's occupation and education.

An eight-point occupational scale was devised, based on Duncan's Socio-Economic Index Scores for occupation. This scale score was added to an eight-point revised, reverse Hollingshead and Redlich educational attainment scale. The two scale scores were added together and from this a student's socio-economic class was determined. Goodman explains his methodology in full elsewhere (1970). Using this method we arrive at Table I.

One may see from the data presented in Table I that the university is serving as an instrument for social mobility that is part of this country's dream. Sixty-two percent of our students come from families of the lower-middle class, upper-lower class or lower-lower class. However, whereas only 51 percent of the Anglos came from these three classes, 89 percent of Chicanos were part of these three lower-class groups. SES difference between these two groups was significant at the .001 level of confidence (Table 1). Actually, although providing chances for upward social mobility for both Anglos and Chicanos, more of the lower class Chicanos are using the university for this purpose.

Proceeding further, it is not surprising to discover that there is a statistically significant difference between Mexican-American students in regard to father's yearly salary, university expenses borne by the students and the numbers of siblings in students' families.

Such differentiations may be a function of SES differences between our Mexican-American and Anglo sample. We know from Table 1 that a larger number of Mexican-American students come from lower class and lower-middle class homes than did their Anglo peers. Bilinguals in our Southwest somewhat reflect inferior socio-economic status to the social and administrative elite or the dominant "ethnic" group, similar to

TABLE I

Social Class Distribution of a Sample of The University of Texas at El Paso Students by Ethnicity, 1969-1970

Social Class	Anglos		Mexican-Americans		Total	
	#	%	#	%	#	%
Lower-Lower	1	1	31	24	32	12
Upper-Lower	24	18	48	37	72	28
Lower-Middle	41	32	36	28	77	30
Upper-Middle	48	37	12	9	60	23
Lower-Upper	15	12	3	2	18	7
Total Reporting	129	100	130	100	259	100
(Social Class Not Reported)	19		23		42	
Total in Sample	148		153		301	

$p < .001$ (Kolmogorov-Smirnov one-tailed test).

Third World Cases. An example would be Galla or Sidomo youth vis à vis their Amhara peers in Ethiopia, or Sinhalese vis à vis Tamil in Ceylon. The differences in father's yearly salary, expenses borne by students and siblings per family clearly reflect these SES differences. In short, since more Mexican-American students have lower class backgrounds, a larger number also have fathers who have lower yearly salaries, so that more of them are paying their own way through the University. In addition a larger proportion come from families with great numbers of children.

As regards support of their university education, it was found that a larger proportion of Chicanos worked to defray their own expenses. Far more Anglos than Mexican-American students indicated they assumed none of their own university expenses (38 percent to 18 percent; see Table III). We also discovered that more Mexican-American students than Anglo students received work-study assistance and GI Bill (military veteran) benefits.

Almost any study of family size reveals that lower social classes tend to have many more children than middle or upper social class (Pitts, 1964: 100-101). In our study Mexican-American students had more siblings than their Anglo counterparts (Table IV). The religious factor as well as SES may help explain this difference since most Mexican-American students are of the Roman Catholic faith which has not yet accepted birth control. However, other studies indicate that middle-class Catholic families tend to have the same family size as do Protestant families (Martinson, 1970:136). It may be safe, therefore, to assume that the sibling differences in at least our study are due to SES differences rather than religious factors.

As noted before a very high proportion of students attending our university are employed. Further, it was discovered that on the whole the Anglo students receive better hourly wages than do their Mexican-American peers. Whether this is due to skill differences, discrimination, or other factors is yet to be determined. Nevertheless, since it is hard to imagine that university undergraduate students possess substantial differences in skills or ability, the most likely explanation seems to be based on ethnic prejudice or SES disadvantage. By SES disadvantage we

TABLE II

Father's Yearly Salary

Salary Range	Anglos		Mexican-Americans		Total	
	#	%	#	%	#	%
Less than $ 3,000	1	1	3	3	4	2
$ 3,000 to $ 4,999	0	0	12	11	12	6
$ 5,000 to $ 6,999	15	15	32	28	47	22
$ 7,000 to $ 8,999	9	9	30	27	39	18
$ 9,000 to $10,999	22	23	18	16	40	19
$11,000 to $14,999	22	23	10	9	32	15
$15,000 to $19,999	14	14	4	3	18	9
$20,000 to $24,999	9	9	1	1	10	5
$25,000 to $29,999	1	1	0	0	1	1
$30,000+	5	5	2	2	7	3
Totals	98	100	112	100	210	100

$p < .001$ (Kolmogorov-Smirnov one-tailed test).

TABLE III

Financing of School Expenses

	Anglos		Mexican Americans		Total	
		% of All Anglos		% of All M/A's		% of All S's
Financial Aid Category	No. (N=148)		No. (N=153)		No. (N=301)	
No Costs Assumed by Students*	56	38%	28	18%	84	28%
GI Bill Benefits**	4	3%	19	12%	23	8%
Work-Study Assistance***	6	4%	19	12%	25	88%

*$p < .0001$.

**$p < .0001$.

***$p < .0001$.

TABLE IV

Number of Siblings of University Students by Ethnicity

Number of Siblings	Anglos		Mexican-Americans		Total	
	#	%	#	%	#	%
0	13	9	5	3	18	6
1	33	22	16	11	49	16
2	43	29	26	17	69	23
3	29	20	33	22	62	21
4	12	8	19	12	31	10
5	9	6	24	16	33	11
6	0	0	88	5	8	3
7	4	3	9	6	13	4
8+	5	3	12	8	17	6
Totals	148	100	152	100	300	100

$p < .001$ (Kolmogorov-Smirnov one-tailed test).

mean that Anglo students simply have superior social contacts, which are more likely to lead to better paying jobs. Chicano students' social contacts may well lead them into lower paying positions.

C. LANGUAGE DIMENSIONS

Our discussion thus far has centered upon some differences between Anglo and Chicano students, mostly attributable to SES distinctions. Now it is time to focus upon linguistic factors.

Information and insights relating to Southwest language varieties and use were obtained both from the over-all sample and a randomly selected sub-sample of thirty subjects. Let us first consider the findings relevant to our sub-sample of thirty. Their performance in both written and oral English and Spanish was obtained and then independently judged by a panel of three bilingual judges. The results appear in Table VI.

These particular results were, in large part, predictable. Spanish performance was in general appreciably lower than was the case in English. Nevertheless, scores in both languages were clustered at well above the intermediate level and indeed between 3.0 and 3.9 on a 5-point scale. In the Southwest, and in most multilingual areas, there is, of course, a complementary distribution of Spanish vs. English of the respective language pair in various domains of living, with English generally reserved for the formal ones. Obviously this does not make for "balanced bilingualism" but sociolinguistic facts remain what they are. The poorer overall performance in Spanish in our sub-sample may be due to the fact that the majority of the students had had the lion's share of their schooling in English as the language of instruction (bilingual schooling is only now beginning to make many inroads). In the formal domains of living, moreover, their experience had been in English, not Spanish. Another noteworthy fact beyond this is that the three-member panel of independent judges may have leaned in the direction of severity in their Spanish ratings.

TABLE V

Hourly Wages Paid to Students

Hourly Wages	Anglos		Mexican-Americans		Total	
	#	%	#	%	#	%
$0.99 or below	0	0	1	1	1	1
$1.00 to $1.59	10	16	25	34	35	26
$1.60	13	21	19	26	32	24
$1.61 to $1.74	1	2	2	3	3	2
$1.75 to $1.99	13	21	9	13	22	16
$2.00 to $2.49	10	16	8	11	18	13
$2.50 to $3.99	12	19	7	10	19	14
$4.00 to $4.49	0	0	1	1	1	1
$4.50 to $4.99	0	0	0	0	0	0
$5.00+	3	5	1	1	4	3
Totals	62	100	75	100	135	100

$p < .01$ (Kolmogrov-Smirnov one-tailed test).

TABLE VI

Distribution of Oral and Written Scores

	Spanish		English		Combined Scores	
Scale	Oral	Written	Oral	Written	Spanish	English
1.0-1.9		1				
2.0-2.9	10	13		1	13	1
3.0-3.9	15	15	17	20	16	21
4.0-4.9	-	-	-	-	-	-
5.0	5	1	13	9	1	8
	30	30	30	30	30	30

Of utmost importance in our field is the question of how language performance ratings correlated with various kinds of scholastic performance, shown by Table VII. A glance at the table indicates that the only correlations significant at the .05 level of confidence were English performance and Spanish performance and English performance and (GPA) grade point average. SAT verbal did not correlate with any of our other variables and this is possibly because the English language performance may well be a result of college English education which is linked to GPA and Spanish language performance. At any rate, however inexplicable, these are [illegible] findings in our sub-sample.

TABLE VII

Correlation of Spanish and English Performance and Other Variables

	N	Spanish Performance	English Performance
Spanish Performance	30		0.4351
English Performance	30	0.4351	
Grade Point Average	29	0.1201*	0.4992
SAT Verbal	26	-0.3724*	0.359
SAT Math	26	-0.1182*	0.0005*

*Not significant at .05 level of confidence.

Unquestionably one of the most important dimensions of language in a complex nation-state is language loyalty and language usage. This has been particularly true in the United States where the use of English and the abandonment of the ancestral language were almost the required passport to American respectability and economic success.

Loyalty and usage were tested in the larger sample of 153 Spanish surnamed students. A section of our questionnaire dealt with this question. Students were asked to indicate how much English and/or Spanish they used in various domains and situations. We hypothesized that for Mexican-American students the higher the social class, the more use of English there would be in any of these settings. We used Pearson Product moment correlations and set the .05 level of significance as our standard of acceptance. Only two of our correlations, home and environment, were significant. The use of English was not significantly different between different Chicano social classes in the settings of work and recreation.

As may be seen in Table VIII, the correlations we did obtain were not high and certainly one can interpret from this data that Spanish in El Paso is not coincident with social class level reached by different Spanish surnamed students.

Various factors may help account for this. One of these is the closeness of the border and the constant stream of legal and illegal immigrants arriving here daily, a factor in strengthening Spanish language maintainance. Another likely reason for the wide use of Spanish by all social classes in our sample is that SES is not related to number of generations in the United States. We have hypothesized that most upper-class Mexican-American students would have fathers who were born in the United States while lower-class members of this classification would have fathers who were born in Mexico. Table IX indicates that this is not so. While higher percentages of upper SES Mexican-American student fathers were born in the U. S., the differences were not statistically significant. Thus neither usage of a foreign language or father's birth in the U. S. appeared to be related to SES.

Language Loyalty and Use

How do social class differences among Mexican-American students affect loyalty to Spanish language, loyalty to Mexican-American customs and acknowledged degree of assimilation problems? We had hypothesized that all of these would show significant negative correlations. That is, with upper SES there would be less loyalty to Spanish language and Mexican-American customs and fewer assimilation problems. Table X indicates results in this area. Loyalty to Spanish customs showed no social class differences nor did loyalty to Spanish language.

TABLE VIII

Correlations Between Social Class and Selected Variables in a Sample of Mexican-American Students

Dependent Variable	Correlation	Amount of Variance Explained in the Dependent Variable
Use of English:		
a) at home		.0784
b) at school	+.07*	.0049
c) during recreation	+.05*	.0025
d) in contact with the environment	+.16*	.0256
e) at work	+.05*	.0025

*Not significant at the .05 level of confidence

TABLE IX

Percentage Social Class Distribution of a Sample of Mexican-American Students at The University of Texas at El Paso By Birthplace of Father

Social Class	Birthplace	
	United States	Mexico
Lower-lower	21%	29%
Upper-lower	36%	38%
Lower-middle	29%	27%
Upper-middle	13%	4%
Lower-upper	1%	4%

$p < .1251$ Mann Whitney U Test.

Quite to our surprise, we found a positive significant correlation indicating that the higher the SES the higher the degree of assimilation problems. Perhaps a new ethnic pride encouraged by the recent Chicano movement may help explain why there is no social class differences in loyalty to Chicano language or customs in our sample. Upper-class students had more assimilation problems than lower-class peers perhaps because of being in more direct competition with Anglo folkways and mores. The lack of SES correlation with loyalty to Spanish language and Spanish customs seems to strengthen our thesis that language usage is not connected strongly to social class and/or assimilation in this geographical area.

TABLE X

Correlations Between Social Class and Selected Variables in a Sample of Mexican-American Students

Dependent Variable	Correlation	Amount of Variance Explained in the Dependent Variable
Loyalty to Spanish Language	.01*	.0001
Loyalty to Spanish Customs	.03*	.0004
Reported Degree of Assimilation Problems	.15	.0225

*Not significant at the .05 level of confidence.

D. ATTITUDES TOWARD REGIONAL LANGUAGE VARIETIES

There is an increasingly recognized area of interest in socio-linguistic study concerning attitudinal components of language. We in our study were tremendously intereseted in our Subjects' perceptions of Spanish and English skills and of regional language varieties.

In the literature of bilingualism the self-rating of language skills by individuals tends to correlate highly with reality. Let is be added that their performance in the linguistic elicitation indicated that Chicanos had generally rated themselves lower than their actual performances, at least in the language sample. It is obvious that they felt less confident in their English language skills than their monolingual peers. This would appear to provide a strong incentive for taking action on their part to upgrade proficiency. At the same time, an unfortunate corollary would also seem to be regrettable feelings of inadequacy regarding their ability to communicate. This has, of course, been compounded by deeply ingrained feelings of subservience and humility (as portrayed in movie and literary stereotypes). The story of discrimination and exclusion from desirable jobs in Southwestern history is now happily changing, too.

When it came to Spanish skills, however, a similar picture emerged, with 75 percent of Mexican-Americans reporting efforts to improve this language, and only 32 percent of Anglos so reporting. Obviously, Spanish for most Anglos does not carry with it the same motivation as does English for Mexican-Americans (Table XI).

The apparent concern with communication skills in our Chicano subjects is well worth further research along attitudinal lines throughout the Southwest. It would be relevant to ascertain to what extent English language skills are regarded as a function of success in formal education, as well as their comparative desirability vis-à-vis Spanish language ones. To what extent does English skill serve instrumental and Spanish skill,

TABLE XI

Students' Reported Efforts to Improve Language

	Anglos		Mexican-Americans		Total	
Efforts to Improve English*	#	%	#	%	#	%
Have made an effort	58	39	79	52	137	46
Have not made an effort	90	61	73	48	163	54
Totals	148	100	152	100	300	100
Efforts to Improve Spanish+	#	%	#	%	#	%
Have made an effort	48	32	114	75	162	54
Have not made an effort	100	68	38	25	138	46
Totals	148	100	152	100	300	100

*$p < .05$, $> .02$ (Kolmogorov-Smirnov one-tailed test).

+$p < .001$ (Kolmogorov-Smirnov one-tailed test).

integrative aims, or vice versa, to employ Wallace Lambert's notions? We have seen (Table VII) that English-language knowledge in our sub-sample correlated significantly with successful grades. To what extent this correlation is true for the entire sample and school remains to be discovered.

Endeavoring to ascertain our Subjects' perceptions of the language varieties used in this area, we included several items in the questionnaire for this purpose. Answers are shown in Table XII.

As Table XII reveals, the students felt that all four varieties are available in the Southwest. A mere 5 percent of the Chicanos believed that the Spanish heard here was "Formal, Educated Style," while no Anglos thought so. The most frequent response was "Border Slang" since 51 percent of the Anglos chose this designation and 31 percent of the Mexican-American students agreed with them. The second most popular choice was "Informal, Everyday" chosen by 37 percent of the whole sample. For this category, nevertheless, Chicanos registered a higher percentage (40 percent) than did the Anglos (32 percent). The remaining students chose Southwest Dialect and again this was favored by more Mexican-American than Anglo students (24 percent as against 17 percent). Again we found a statistically significant difference between our two groups at the .001 level of confidence.

One of the most interesting and relevant aspects of our survey is that dealing with these attitudes toward Southwest Spanish dialect or variety--a topic which has suffered terribly from all sorts of over-simplifications as well as outright distortions. Pejorative attitudes have prevailed among Mexican-American and Anglos alike, in large part because of the relatively high degree of English interference. It has been described in such disdainful epithets as "Tex-Mex," "Border Lingo" and Pocho. As a result any notion of according it any sort of legitimate status as a vernacular for informal domains, despite its use, to some degree by over five million persons has been rendered impossible until recently. Parallels here with the status of Candian French and such stigmatized varieties as Joual are obviously striking.

TABLE XII

Students' Evaluations of Types of Spanish Used in the Area

	Anglo		Mexican-American		Total	
	#	%	#	%	#	%
Formal, educated	0	0	7	5	7	2
Informal, everyday	46	32	62	40	108	37
Southwest dialect	24	17	36	24	60	20
Border slang	72	51	48	31	120	41
Totals	142	100	153	100	295	100

$p < .001$ (Kolmogorov-Smirnov one-tailed test).

Obviously, since even 31 percent of the Mexican-Americans rated Southwest Spanish as "Border Slang," there appears to be a great need for "re-education" of both Chicanos and Anglos as regards language attitudes. By contrast, the 35 percent terming it "Southwest Dialect" and 40 percent "Informal, Everyday" variety were quite realistic. By and large, the attitudes reflected by both groups (particularly the Anglos with 51 percent) typifying it as "Border Slang" would deter rather than facilitate programs and texts intended to utilize Southwest Spanish as a basis for approaching Standard Educated Spanish, as well as to examine it as a legitimate informal language variety.

We also attempted to determine the students' own self-evaluation of the varieties of Spanish and English controlled by them. The results of these evaluations are shown in Table XIII.

Although most students believed that they were able to use formal, educated English more Chicanos than Anglos felt that their proficiency was of the informal, everyday style. This, despite the fact already noted, that tested English proficiency of the sub-sample was quite high.

Turning now to self-evaluation of the bilinguals, 87 or more than half, claimed "Informal, Everyday" language, 14 or somewhat more than 10 percent, "Southwest Dialect." A surprising 38, or about a third, felt that they could handle "Formal, Educated Style." The latter statistic is all the more surprising, since so few had characterized the general variety of regional Spanish so highly, while the tiny number of three respondents claiming only "Border Slang" is more reassuring than anything. Only one Spanish surnamed individual disclaimed ability to handle any variety! An important implication here is that lower self-evalustion of both their own lingual skills and the lower status or prestige of the language varieties controlled by them obviously puts the Mexican-Americans at an appreciable disadvantage as contrasted with their Anglo counterparts. This may account in part for the heretofore poor representation of Chicano students in the fields of science, thechnology, engineering, medicine, business administration as well as such social science areas as sociology, psychology, political science and linguistics.

Our findings, of course, require a great deal more interdisciplinary attention than we have been able to accord them thus far, as well as replication elsewhere. One of the implications, moreover, that need more consideration is the relationship of the features of our particular sample to both the language situation and to "language policy" in the Southwest, as well as in the United States in general. As suggested by Ferguson and

Dil although such issues have been taken for granted in the technologically developed Western nations, recent militancy has demonstrated the error of this attitude.

One needs to re-examine the literature of the subject, largely dealing with the "emergent" nations for legitimate parallels, including such earlier sources as The Study of the Role of Second Languages in Asia, Africa and Latin America (Rice, 1962). Of more recent date is, in this connection, Language Problems of Developing Nations (Fishman, Ferguson and Das Gupta, 1968). In their introduction they comment tellingly (p. 10):

> At a time when the major part of the human race is entrapped by such problems, most American linguists continue to be only marginally interested in language development . . . and most sociologists and political scientists are just becoming aware of language as an aspect of societal and national functioning. At the same time sociolinguistics is still a very fragile flower, cultivated only at a handful of universities and focused primarily on micro-phenomena at the level of the speech act in face-to-face interaction.

Pedantic though this procedure may seem it is illuminating to make a few additional comments on the above volume. In his essay "Sociolinguistics and the Language Problems of the Developing Countries," Fishman observes (p. 12):

> In general, the problems of disadvantaged populations might hopefully be seen in broader perspective if they were considered against the background of coterritorial languages differences more generally and of planned language shift in particular. The long experience of other countries in coping with home-school dialect differences of a major sort (e.g., in England, Germany, Italy) may be illuminating . . .

Also germane are the essays by Dankwart A. Rustow in "Language, Modernization and Nationhood--An Attempt at Typology" (pp. 187-106), Heinz Kloss' "Notes Concerning a Language-Nation Typology" (pp. 69-86), which should be read bearing in mind William A. Stewart's seminal essay, "A Sociolinguistic Typology for Describing National Multilingualism."

Returning once more to our survey, we found that in essence relationships needed to be pursued between the following sets of factors: (1) Intra-linguistic variables, (2) Linguistic factors with socio-educational and demographic ones, (3) Socio-educational factors with one another or intra-socio-educational factors.

Very briefly, as a first step toward analysis through "relational bilingualism," the writer has set up a global "correlational matrix" with 21 of the 69 variables most relevant to language issues plotted on the vertical and horizontal grids. (See Center's publications.) This was basically to show at a glance whether there is a positive or inverse relationship between any two variables at least at the .05 level of confidence, or whether no relationship exists at all. Crude though this be, the main advantage of this procedure is that it aids the researcher in keeping some sort of grasp on a frequently confusing abundance of detail involved. In the matrix in question, one may for example, see at once with which of the remaining factors the two variables of overall performance in Spanish and English show correlations. Each of these relationships must then be analyzed.

At the same time, we do not believe that one should rely exclusively on statistical detail, no matter how sophisticated, since this is as much an extreme as reliance upon a purely anecdotal approach. Hence we are seeking as full ethnographic documentation as possible even including informal and hearsay material, which must of course be clearly labeled as such.

This matrix is largely intended to help summarize our findings in one compact chart so that the reader can see at a glance just what is correlated with what, and to maintain some sort of perspective on the mass of detail here presented. We assume that the

TABLE XIII

Students' Self-Evaluations of English and Spanish Capability

	English				Spanish			
	Anglo		Mexican-American		Anglo		Mexican-American	
	#*	%	#	%	#**	%	#	%
Formal, educated	121	82	112	73	21	14	48	31
Informal, everyday	24	16	41	27	32	22	87	57
Southwest dialect	1	1	0	0	6	4	14	9
Border Slang	0	0	0	0	18	13	3	2
Cannot handle	1	1	0	0	69	47	1	1
Totals	147	100	153	100	146	100	153	100

*Figured without two respondents.
**Figured without three respondents.
$p << .05 >> .02$ (Kolmogorov-Smirnov one-tailed test).
$p << .001$ (Kolmogorov-Smirnov one-tailed test).

reader understands that correlations are general indicators of relationships and the strength of these relationships is the square of the correlation discovered. With a number of 151 at the .05 level of confidence ± .159 is an acceptable correlation. However, ± .159 explains only .026281 of our variance. Thus correlations are useful devices for indicating where relationships are to be found but are not necessarily indicative that they are powerful or definitive. A further expansion of the matrix into other disciplines might quickly indicate, for example, how political attitudes relate to language proficiency and social class.

Socio-educational correlates of bilingualism/biculturalism, then, have a vast possible number of implications. However, the need for more ethnic field research for coping with much of the turmoil in American education is highlighted by a group of Mexican-American educators. In a recent manifesto, Adelante: An Emerging Design for Mexican-American Education (1972), Dr. Simon Gonzalez asserts:

> An educational philosophy for the instruction of Mexican Americans requires concerted attention to the area of research. The paucity of data regarding our ethnic group requires that we increase our demands that institutions of higher learning address themselves to this need and also provide opportunities for Chicano graduate students to gain vitally needed experience by participating as research assistants.

Probably the greatest value of the study as discussed thus far has been the explicit attempt to probe interrelations of language skills and social factors in a broader frame of reference than has usually been the case for sociolinguistic studies.

Two parameters or issues emerge from the research being done by our "team" on Mexican-American bilinguals. One of these, again reminiscent of youth in the emergent lands, is the matter of relative position or prestige of minority dialect speakers, part of whose alienation from the mainstream is due to the stigmatized nature of their language varieties, and their exclusion from higher paying jobs because of inability to communicate in the standard educated model of mainstream groups--in our case, English. We have seen that our sub-sample rated their English capabilities significantly lower than Anglos, even when some of their performance scores would justify a higher self-image. Their evaluation of the kind of Spanish used in this locality as well as their evaluation of the Spanish they personally use is also indicative of a poorer self-image. These may be compounded by feelings of inferiority brought about by lower SES position and poorer hourly wages paid to them.

These same students, however, reflect a high degree of loyalty toward Spanish language and Chicano customs as well as abundant use of this language in all but formal domains. Contrary to the findings of Grebler, Moore and Guzman (1970), the extent of use of Spanish and attitude to it, is not associated with SES. On the contrary, Chicanos of higher SES generally reported an abundant amount of Spanish usage. Nevertheless, it is true that higher SES Mexican-Americans did indicate a large amount of English use at home and in the "environment."

We therefore seem to be in the presence of a sort of inconsistency or ambivalence that might well contribute to personality traits. While on one hand there is a high degree of loyalty to Spanish language and Mexican-American culture, on the other hand, the lower ratings are accorded regional Spanish. This problem needs to be explored much more deeply.

Finally, this rather lengthy paper can be concluded by saying that a great deal of further research is mandatory before the findings in this study can be satisfactorily confirmed. Not only are replicative studies needed which might yield similar results, but also investigations which might corroborate or reject our individual assumptions and conclusions. Our conviction is that the area treated still offers a number of challenging and significant research tasks. Hopefully both our study and future related ones can bring greater knowledge of the intricate web of inter-ethnic relationships, and by the same token, better understanding among humans of one another.